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STOCK BRIDGE,

PAST AND PRESENT;

OR, RECORDS OF

AN OLD MISSION STATION.

BY MISS ELECTA F. JONES.

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P R E F A C E .



It must be a source of satisfaction to the people of Stockbridge, that the labor of writing the history of their town fell into the hands of so faithful a chronicler as the author of these pages. The writer of this preface felt greatly interested in the execution of the enterprise, and bears his cheerful testimony to the untiring spirit with which she prosecuted it. For two years she was almost constantly occupied in laborious research and correspondence connected with the work, and our community owes her no small debt of gratitude for the discovery and publication of documents of great local interest, which, but for her diligence, would, in all probability, never have known the light. This is particularly true of that portion of the book which treats of the Stockbridge Indians — in many respects the most interesting of all our Aboriginal tribes.

The author laid no claims to profound erudition. She was a plain, sensible woman, and wrote for the preservation and exhibition of truth, not from any desire to attract

notice, or prurient love of authorship; and her book is not presented as a specimen of rhetorical or syntactical exactitude. Its chief merit is its *truthfulness*, and on this, it is believed, the reader may safely rely.

The author lived just long enough to put a finishing hand to the work, and left a written request that the subscriber should superintend its publication. This office he has essayed to do, with no important change from the condition in which it left her pen; and now commits it to the public, bespeaking for its lamented author the spirit of candor and charity with which it was written.

E. W. B. CANNING.

STOCKBRIDGE, MASS., }
February, 1854. }

CONTENTS.



	PAGE.
INTRODUCTION,	9
SEC. 1. STOCKBRIDGE INDIANS: WHO ARE THEY?	13
“ 2. INDIAN HISTORY,	14
“ 3. FURTHER PARTICULARS,	23
“ 4. LANGUAGE,	30
“ 5. FIRST PURCHASE OF STOCKBRIDGE,	38
“ 6. DAY-BREAK IN HOUSATONIC,	39
“ 7. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MISSION,	41
“ 8. FORMATION OF THE CHURCH,	42
“ 9. PROGRESS OF LIGHT,	43
“ 10. ORDINATION OF MR. SERGEANT,	48
“ 11. FIRST SPIRITUAL HARVEST IN HOUSATONIC,	51
“ 12. REMOVAL TO STOCKBRIDGE,	53*
“ 13. VISIT TO BOSTON,	58
“ 14. CHURCH, SCHOOL HOUSE, ETC.,	58
“ 15. GENERAL PROGRESS OF THE MISSION,	62
“ 16. OUT-LABORS OF MR. SERGEANT,	66
“ 17. HOLLIS SCHOOL,	69
“ 18. PRIVATE LIFE OF MR. AND MRS. SERGEANT,	76
“ 19. THE INDIANS IN WAR AND IN PEACE,	79
“ 20. REMOVAL FROM STOCKBRIDGE,	85
“ 21. RESIDENCE AT NEW STOCKBRIDGE,	87

SEC. 22. REMOVAL FROM NEW STOCKBRIDGE, . . .	99
“ 23. GATHERING AT GREEN BAY, . . .	103
“ 24. NEW HOME ON LAKE WINNEBAGO, . . .	105
“ 25. LAST REMOVAL,	114
“ 26. BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF INDIANS, . . .	117
“ 27. DITTO OF INDIVIDUALS WHO ESTABLISHED THE MISSION,	123
“ 28. EARLY FAMILIES OF WHITES,	128
“ 29. PRESIDENT EDWARDS AND WIFE,	154
“ 30. SUCCESSOR OF PRESIDENT EDWARDS—DR. STEPHEN WEST,	161
“ 31. REVOLUTIONARY WAR,	168
“ 32. SECOND CHURCH IN STOCKBRIDGE, . . .	183
“ 33. THE SHAYS REBELLION,	185
“ 34. COLONIES FROM STOCKBRIDGE,	201
“ 35. WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN,	205
“ 36. DIVISION OF THE PARISH, PASTORS, EDI- FICES, ETC.,	209
“ 37. DEACONS OF THE CHURCH,	217
“ 38. RELIGION, INCLUDING BIBLE CLASSES, CHARITIES, TEMPERANCE, MISSIONARIES, ETC.,	219
“ 39. GENERAL LITERATURE,	229
“ 40. PHYSICIANS,	236
“ 41. AFRICAN POPULATION,	238
“ 42. CRIME AND CASUALTIES,	243
“ 43. MISCELLANEOUS,	245
“ 44. VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS,	248
“ 45. GEOGRAPHY,	249
“ 46. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES,	255
APPENDIX,	269

“Thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God led thee these forty years in the wilderness.” DEUT. 8: 2.

“Inquire, I pray thee, of the former age, and prepare thyself to the search of their fathers.” JOB. 8: 8.

“Remember the days of old, consider the years of generation and generation; ask thy father, and he will show thee: thy elders, and they will tell thee.” DEUT. 32: 7.

“One generation shall praise thy works to another, and shall declare thy mighty acts. They shall abundantly utter the memory of thy great goodness, and shall sing of thy righteousness.” PSALMS. 145: 4, 7.

“He found him in a desert land, and in the waste, howling wilderness. He led him about; he instructed him; he kept him as the apple of his eye.”
DEUT. 32: 10.

“Oh God, forsake me not until I have showed thy strength unto this generation, and thy power unto every one that is to come.” PSALMS 71: 18.

INTRODUCTION.



IN the year 1829, the clergymen and a few laymen of Berkshire, prepared and published a valuable History of the County, and of each particular town. This was a great work, but for which, the present collection would require a far greater outlay of time and of money, while much valuable information would have been irrecoverably lost; and for the prompt offer of its use in the present instance, as well as for the numerous other aids received from various sources, the heartfelt acknowledgments of the author are respectfully tendered.

But, valuable as is the "History of Berkshire," copies of it are now scarce among us. Nearly another generation, too, has passed away, and removals have brought changes; and while Stockbridge is becoming noted as a place of resort, and is made every year the theme of the poet, the painter, or the traveler, and the shrine even of the pilgrim, so poorly is the office of cicerone performed, that we are mortified to observe printed errors about localities, and are scarcely able, one of us, to direct visitors aright. Besides this, the genealogical mania, as it is called, but better termed the fulfilment of that prophecy—"the righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance," is giving the public mind an interest in families, individuals, and places, not before felt. The descendants of Puritans and Huguenots are calling upon steam and upon

lightning to aid in the commemoration of their ancestors; and they who at first bade this wilderness "blossom as the rose," and others who have continued its culture, should not be forgotten, even though the sand has for a time been blown over their foot prints, and the flowery sods of their own beloved valley have covered them. No, let their tablet find a niche in every dwelling, and their memory a warm corner in every heart.

And the Red Man too;—oh, how little do we think of him! How little do we know of him! How seldom, how *very* seldom, does the public prayer ascend for the children of those who once lived in these valleys, hunted in these groves, angled in these streams, worshiped where we bow, and were the STOCKBRIDGE CHURCH! They have "melted away" indeed, but not like many of their race. They still have a national existence, still hold the religion which they learned upon this spot, and still love, with true Indian fervor, the homes and the graves of their fathers here. Spiritually, they were once cold and cheerless as the drifts which covered their hill sides; but they welcomed the beams of the Sun of Righteousness, and opened their hearts to his holy influence. No hardening process, of melting to tears and then freezing again to adamant, had sealed their doom: and drop after drop trickled down, until the icy avalanche became a fertilizing stream; and now, as it retraces its ancient channel, we hear the "God speed thee," from those who have stood upon its borders, and the hearty welcome comes from the far off land, verifying continually the words of inspiration, "Godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come."

In arranging the materials for this work, the aim has been, not merely to make it *interesting* as a book to be *read*, but *convenient* as a book of *reference* in after years. If the aim has been too high for one of humble capacities to attain, the instrument proving too weak for its noble office, the excuse must be that it was not undertaken, or even projected, but at the earnest request of one whose judgment we are habituated to respect; and it has been done with unfeigned self-distrust

prompting the fervent prayer—"Oh God, thou knowest my foolishness, and my sins are not hid from thee. Let not them that wait on thee be ashamed for my sake; let not those that seek thee be confounded for my sake, Oh God of Israel." Puerile though the performance may be, it is, after careful investigation, believed to be a record of truths; and for truth's sake, let it be accepted.

"Sweet is the virgin honey, though the wild bee hath stored it in a reed;
And bright the jeweled band that circleth an Ethiop's arm.

I magnify mine office,

Albeit, in much feebleness I hold it thus unworthily;

For it addeth immortality to dying facts,

Shedding upon stocks and stones the tender light of interest,

Making past things present, and availing for the present in the future.

If thou lovest, help me with thy blessing: if otherwise, then mine shall be
for thee;—

I work for GOD and good."

THE AUTHOR.

STOCKBRIDGE, December, 1852.

STOCKBRIDGE,

PAST AND PRESENT.



SECTION I.

THE STOCKBRIDGE INDIANS. WHO ARE THEY?

MANY believe the Stockbridge Indians, and their kindred tribes, to be remnants of the Jewish Nation; and that they have, at some period of their national existence, possessed a part of the Jewish Scriptures, seems very evident. But it seems equally evident that they are of Scythian origin, descendents, like ourselves, from Japhet, though they of the second, and we of the eldest, son. The ancient Scythians strikingly resembled our Indians, both in their good, and in their evil qualities. A Scythian speech might be borrowed by an Indian, and be pronounced in a manner perfectly characteristic of his race; and if it is asked why the Indians have *no* cattle, when the Scythians *depended* upon them both for food and for clothing? the answer may, perhaps, be suggested by the Stockbridges, when they tell of the famine which obliged them to disperse themselves over the country.

The Stockbridge Indians seem to be of the Chippeway division; and Dr. Dwight remarks that their language was more widely spoken than any other Indian tongue, different dialects of it being used throughout New England, in Canada, and far to the west and south. When found by the whites, they were settled along the eastern part of New York, and in those parts of Massachusetts and Connecticut,

which border upon that state. By the English they were called River Indians ; but those who lived in Berkshire County came afterwards to be called Housatonic Indians. Their proper name is Muh-he-ka-neew in the singular, and Muh-he-ka-ne-ok in the plural, signifying “the people of the continually flowing waters.” The *orthography* of the word does not however seem certain, as besides the above method from the Berkshire History, it is spelled Muh-he-ka-nuk by Mr. Sergeant in 1818, and by the Indians themselves at different times—Muh-he-con-nuk which, strictly, denotes their place of residence, Muh-hea-ken-nuk, Muh-hea-kenn-nuk, Muh-hea-kun-nuk, and Muh-he-cun-nuk.



SECTION II.

INDIAN HISTORY.

THE History, and perhaps we may say the entire literature of the Muh-he-ka-ne-ok, was treasured in the minds of a succession of “historians,” each of whom trained one or more to fill the office after his death. When a mission had been established among them, and youth had been sufficiently instructed, a portion of this literature was written down for preservation, as more safe in a civilized community than tradition. Dr. Dwight seems to have had access to a *perfect* copy ; but the one here given has lost its first and its last leaf, and no traces of their contents have yet been discovered except what can be gathered from his “Travels.” The History, as we have it, was sent from New York, and is said to have been written, “doubtless, by Capt. Hendrick Aupaumut.” Its false syntax is *valuable*, rather than objectionable, as it furnishes illustrations for the treatise upon their language, and renders that section more perspicuous.

According to the extracts made by Dr. Dwight, they came from a country northwest of Stockbridge, having “crossed the great water at the place where this and the other country are nearly connected.” In this their traditions resemble those of the Shawanoes, who say that

their ancestors resolved to emigrate, and having gathered upon the shore, walked over to this Continent.

"A famine compelled them," says the Muh-hea-ken-neew History, "to disperse themselves throughout the regions of the wilderness after sustenance—and at length lost their ways of former living, and apostatized. As they were coming from the West, they found many great waters, but none of them flowing and ebbing like Muh-he ku-nuk, until they came to Hudson River. Then they said one to another—this is like Muh-he-con-nuk, our nativity. And when they saw that game was very plenty in that country, they agreed to kindle fire there, and hang a kettle whereof they and their children after them may dip out their daily refreshment. (The name of the Hudson was Mahecanittuck.)"

"As our fathers had no art of manufacturing any sort of metal, they had no implements of husbandry, therefore were not able to cultivate their lands but little—that of planting shammonon, or Indian corn, beans, and little squashes, which was chiefly left under the management of women, and old men who are incapable of hunting, and little boys. They made use of bone, either moose, bear's, deer's shoulder plate instead of hoe, to hoe their corn with—tie it fast to one end of a stick or helve made for that purpose.

"Their way of clearing lands was not so difficult as we should imagine, and that without using an axe. When they find that their fields will fail, they are to prepare another piece of land. In the first place they do make fire around the foot of every tree, as many trees standing on the ground which they intended to clear, until the barks of the trees burnt through; for trees are killed very easy in this manner. They planted while trees are standing, after they are killed. And as soon as trees is fell, they burnt it off such length that they might roll the logs together, and burnt them up to ashes. Thus they do till they get it quite clear. An industrious woman, when great many dry trees are fallen, could burnt off as many logs in one day as a smart man could chop in two or three days time with an axe. They make use of only a Hthou-ne tmuh-he-con, or a stone axe, something like the shape of an axe—helve to it, as of the hoe already mentioned, with which they rub the coals of the burning logs. But the employment of men was consisted in hunting and fishing. They used bow and arrows to kill game, with which they were very expert. They also used to catch deer by insnaring them with strings. By hunting they supplied themselves with both cloathing and diet. They seldom feel much want, and they were very well contented in their condition; having food and raiment was their only aim. They were not to

kill more than necessary, for there was none to barter with them that would have tempted them to waste their animals, as they did after the Chuh-ko-thuk came on this Island; consequently, game was never diminished.

“They hunted occasionally whole year; but hunting seasons are properly divided into two parts of a year. In fall they hunt for deer, bear, beaver, otter, raccoon, fisher, martin, for their clothing, and drying meat for the ensuing season; and in the beginning of March they used to go out to hunt for moose on the Green Mountains, where these animals keep for winter quarters. From thence they go again for beaver hunting soon as the rivers, ponds, and creeks are opened, but they used to take good care not to stay over two months.

“And as our ancestors were not subject to so many disorders, or sicknesses, as they were after Chuh-ko-thuk, or white people settled amongst them, they flourished in some measure—that before they began to decay. Our fathers informed us that Muh-he-con-nuk Nation could then raised about one thousand warriors who could turn out at any emergency. Their weapons of war, besides bow and arrows, already described, Puh-wy, made of wooden knot, helve to it, and Quen-neh-tuh he-con, or long-cut, and Thut-te-con, or spear, made of bone or horn, and some of flinty stone, with long helve to it. They also wear quiver, commonly made of otter skin, which contain forty or fifty arrows; and in battle they use shields made of green hide, doubled two or three times; and when it's dry so hard that sharpest arrow cannot penetrated. They also wear Hpe-thoon, made of green hide, or breastplate.

“Muh he-con-nuk Nation formerly deemed to be the best warriors in the field, truly formidable to any nation, which still acknowledged by the western tribes; for number of our nation have lived among almost every nation in westward to this day, and they used to go with these nations in all their wars; and they ever proved the characteristicalness of their ancestors—Muh-he-con ne-yuk.

“And our forefathers also distinguished in peaceableness, whereby they had allies, even the remotest nations; and according to the ancient custom many of these nations made renewal the covenants with us which their forefathers and ours had made, with belts and strings of wampum. Some of the belts and strings are now in our possession. The friendships which our forefathers had between different nations were denominated after the manner of common relations.

“And according to the ancient covenant of our ancestors, the Delaware nation are our *Grandfathers*. And the Shawanoë nation, when they were ready to be devoured by their

enemies, the different nations, they sent runners to Muh-hu-con-nuk for help. Then our forefathers went to stand between the Shawanoe and the different tribes, to act as mediators, and to defend them. They rescued them from under the jaws of their enemies. The Shawanoe nation then called the Muh-hu-con-nuk nation to be their Elder Brothers, and promise obedience to them, which they still acknowledged to this day; and they are our Younger Brothers, or Nkheeth-mon nauk. Our forefathers then removed the Shawanoe nation from their native country, and brought them as far as Mkhan-wau-muk. There they left them under the care of the Delaware nation, their Grandfather. [See Appendix A.]

“Wmau-weew, or Miami nation, formerly had war with our nation, and when they were conquered they obliged to sue peace; and when peace was established, they enter into covenant of friendship with our nation, and kindle fire for them at Kekioke, near the head of Miami River, which empties into Lake Erie, and voluntarily given them a large tract of land, wherein they desired them to live, and to be their head; they offered obedience to them as grandchildren ordinarily obey their grandfathers. But as our forefathers loved not superiority over their fellow Indians, or using authority as tyrants over any nation, they only accepted the present given to them out of friendship, remembering that it may in time to come, our children some occasion or other would come and live there. From that time the tract of land has been reserved for our nation to this day, and that covenant had been renewed at different times, and a number of our nation live on that land these several years past to this day. Therefore the Miami nation are our Grandchildren to this day; and also their allies, to wit, Wtuw-waw, or Uttawa Nation, Wchip-pow-waw, or Chipiwa Nation, Mi-si-sau-ky, Pot-au-waut-om-meew, Wnau-to-wuh-theh, Wthau-keew, Ke-kep poow, Pa-sake-yah, Wauw-yuh-ton-noow, and Mk-huth-ko-tau-weew.—All these nations ever acknowledged this friendship; and whenever they met any of our people they call them Muh-somis, or Grandfathers. These nations inhabit northwest of Ohio.

“Kut-tooh-waw, or Cherokees, are our younger brothers, who has invited us to move our fire-place and kindled by the side of their fire place; they offered to give us a large tract of land by belt of beads which we had in our bag to this day.

“Mush-ooow, or Creek Nation,—the head of their confederacy also manifested their friendship with us with belt of wampum, and gave us invitation in like manner as Cherokees did.

“Wmin-theew, Wnuh-thoow, Kuh-nau-wau-thuw—these

three nations are our brothers according to the ancient covenant of our forefathers.

“ And the Seven Nations of Canada are our brothers also, who has renewed that covenant with us last Summer. And part of the Six Nations are our Uncles, to wit, Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayogas, and Senecas. But the Oneidas, and Tuscaroras are our brothers. (The Oneidas were *younger* brethren.)

“ Our ancestors, before they ever enjoyed Gospel revelation acknowledged one Supreme Being who dwells above, whom they styled Waun-theet Mon-nit-toow, or the Great, Good Spirit, the author of all things in heaven and on earth and governs all events ; and he is good to all his creatures. They also believed that there is an evil one, called Mton-toow or Wicked Spirit that loves altogether to do mischief ; that he excites person or persons to tell a lie—angry, fight, hate, steal, to commit murder, and to be envious, malicious, and evil-talking ; also excites nations to war with one another, to violated their friendship which the Great, Good Spirit given them to maintain for their mutual good, and their children after them.

“ In order to please the Great, Good Spirit which they acknowledged to be their dependence, and on the other hand to withstand the evil one—therefore, the following custom was observed, which handed down to them by their forefathers, and considered as communicated to them by Good Spirit.

“ The Head of each family—man or woman—would began with all tenderness, as soon as daylight, to waken up their children and teach them, as follows :—

“ “ My Children—you must remember that it is by the goodness of the Great, Good Spirit we are preserved through the night. My Children, you must listen to my words. If you wish to see many good days and evenings you must love to all men, and be kind to all people.

“ “ If you see any that are in distress, you must try to help them. Remember that you will also be in distress some time or other. If you see any one hungry you must give him something to eat ; though you should have but little cake, give him half of it, for you also liable to hunger. If you see one naked, you must cover him with your own raiment. For you must consider that some future time you will also stand in need of such help ; but if you will not assist, or have compassion for the poor, you will displease the Good Spirit ; you will be called Uh-wu-theet, or hard-hearted and nobody will pity on you the time of your distress, but will mock at you.

“ “ My little Children, if you see aged man or woman on your way doing something, you must pity on them, and help

them instantly. In so doing, you will make their hearts glad, and they will speak well of you. And further, if you see your neighbors quarreling, you must try to make them to be good friends again. And you must always listen to the instruction of old folks: thereby you will be wise. And you must not be hasty to speak, when you hear people talking; nor allow yourself too much laughing. And if you find any that will speak evil against you, you must not speak evil words back, but shut your ears and mouth as though you hear nothing; and shun such people. And you must never quarrel to any person, for quarreling is belongs to evil spirit, and beast. But live in peace with all people: thereby you will please the Great, Good Spirit, and you will be happy.

“My little Children—you must be very kind to strangers. If you see stranger or strangers come by the side of your fire-place, you must salute them, and take them by the hand, and be friendly to them; because you will be a stranger some time or other. You must never speak any harsh word to strangers, but use them well as you can; thereby they will love you and will speak well of you wherever they be: and if you ever come into a strange country you will meet with such kindness. But if you will not be friendly to such, you will be in danger wherever you go.

“My Children—again listen. You must be honest in all your ways. You must always speak nothing but the truth wherever you are. But if you should love to tell lie, everybody will take notice of it; thereby you will bring a bad name to yourself. *For instance*—whenever people shall see you walking, they will say one to another with scorn, and point at you, ‘look at that liar!’ and even when you should bring tidings of importance with the truth, they shall not regard what you say.

“My Children—You must never steal anything from your fellow men, for remember this—you will not be pleased if some of your neighbors should take away your things by way of stealing; and you must also remember that the Great, Good Spirit see you. But if you will allow yourself to steal, you will hurt your name, and disgrace your parents and all relations; and you will be despised by all good people.

“My Children—you must always avoid bad company. And above all, you must never commit murder, because you wish to see long life. But if you commit murder, the Great Good Spirit will be angry with you, and your life will be in great danger; also the lives of your dear relations.

“My Children—you must be very industrious. You must always get up early morning to put on your clothes, muk-sens, and tie your belt about you, that you may be ready to do

something; by so doing you will always have something to eat and to put on. But if you will be lazy, you will be always poor. Your eyes shall be on those who are industrious, and perhaps you will be shamefully beg or steal; and none will give you anything to eat without grudging.

“And further, my Children—when you grown up, you must not take wife or husband without the consent of your parents and all relations. But if you will do contrary to this, perhaps you will be joined to one who will bring great darkness to you, and thereby you will be very unhappy.

“My Children—at all times you must obey your Sachem and Chiefs, in all good counsels they give; never to speak evil against them, for they have taken much pains in promoting your happiness. And if you do not observe this, you will be looked upon worse than the beasts are.”

“Thus they inculcate instruction to their children day after day until they are grown up; and after they are grown, yet they would teach them occasionally. And when young people have children they also teach theirs in like manner.—This custom is handed down from generation to another; at the same time it may be observed that there were some that did not take no pains to instruct their children, but would set bad examples before them, as well as there are such among civilized nations. But such men were roving about, and could not be contented to stay at one place.

“Our ancestors’ Government was a Democratical. They had Wi-gow-wauw, or Chief Sachem, successively, as well as other nations had, chosen by the nation, whom they looked upon as conductor and promoter of their general welfare, and rendered him obedience as long as he behaved himself agreeably to the office of a Sachem. And this office was hereditary by the lineage of a female’s offspring, but not on man’s line, but on woman’s part. That is—when Wi-gow-wauw is fallen by death, one of his Nephews, (if he has any) will be appointed to succeed his Uncle as a Sachem, and not any of his sons.

The Sachem always have Woh-weet-quan-pe-chee, or Counselors, and one Mo-quau-pauw, or Hero, and one Mkhoooh-que-thoth, or Owl, and one Un-nuh-kau-kun, or Messenger, or Runner; and the rest of the men are called young men. (But the Six Nations call young men Warriors.) The Sachem is looked upon as a great tree under whose shade the whole nation is sit. His business is to contemplate the welfare of his people day and night—how to promote their peace and happiness. He also ever take pains to maintain and brighten the belt of friendship with all their allies. When he find any business of public nature, he is to call his coun-

selors together to consult with them; and then they will determine what is good for the Nation. The Sachem must be a peaceable man—has nothing to do with wars—but he is at times go from house to house to exhort his people to live in unity and peace.

“The Sachem has no stated salary for his services; for it was a disgrace or reproach any man to ask reward for any of his public services; but whatever he does for his nation must be done out of friendship and good will. But it was the custom to help their Sachem voluntarily in building a long We-ko-wohm, or wigwam, all complete; and the hunters, when they returned from hunting each man give him a skin. The women also at times, some give him Mkith-non, or Muk-sens, some belts for the body, others garters, and some other ornaments—as wampum to be for his own use. They are also to bring victuals to Sachem’s to enable him to feed strangers;—for whenever strangers arrived at their fire-place they are directed to go to Sachem’s house. There they stay until their business is completed.

“The Sachem is allowed to keep Mno-ti, or peaceable bag, or bag of peace, containing about one bushel, some less.—This bag is made of Weeth-kuhn-pauk, or bitter sort of hemp; grows on intervals. about three or four feet long; and sometimes made of Wau-pon-nep-pauk, or white hemp, which grows by the side of rivers. or edge of marshes.—amazing strong and lasting—of which they make strings, and die part of the strings of different colors; then worked and made into bag of different marks. In this bag they keep various Squau-tho-won, or belts of wampum; also strings; which belts and strings they used to establish peace and friendship with different nations, and to use them on many occasions, and passed as coin. In this bag they keep all belts and strings which they received of their allies of different nations. This bag is, as it were, unmoveable; but it is always remain at Sachem’s house, as hereditary with the office of a Sachem; and he is to keep the Pipe of Peace, made of red hard stone—a long stem to it. Besides this bag, they keep other smaller bags which they called Ne-mau-wonneh Mno-ti, or Scrip, which contains nourishment on journey, which they carry with them when they go out to hold treaties with other fire-places. In such scrips they occasionally put belts and strings for transacting business abroad. When they find the wampum will be fall short, besides what is kept in the bag, the Sachem and his counselors would sent their runner to gather, or collect wampum from their women, which business they called mauw-peen, or sitting into one place.

“The office of Counselors was not gotten by hereditary, but it was elective ; therefore, the wise men were only entitled the office of Counselors. They are called Chiefs. Their business is to consult with their Sachems in promoting peace and happiness for their people. They will also at all times exhort young people to every good work.

“The title of Mo-quau-pauw, or Hero, is gotten only by merit ; by remarkable conduct in the wars, by great courage and prudence. The business of Heroes in time of peace is to sit with their Sachem and Counselors in all their councils, and to confirm their agreements, but never to contradict them ; for which they are beloved by their Sachem and Counselors, and by all their people. But when any warfare is sounded in their ears, then they will all meet together to hold a general Council : and when they find themselves under necessity of joining to such war, then the Sachem and Counselors will put the business in the hands of Heroes, exhorting them to be courageous and prudent, to take good care of their young men. But when the offers of peace is proposed, then the Hero will put the business in the hands of the Sachem and Counselors, who will cut or break the string of the bow, and bury the Puh-wi, and by certain ceremony or emblem wipe off all tears and blood, and cleanse their beds, scattered all dark clouds, that they may enjoy pleasant days again.

“The office of Owl is come by merit also ; who must have strong memory, and must be good speaker, and have strong voice. He is to sit by the side of his Sachem ; his business is to proclaim the orders of his Sachem to the people with loud voice. And he is also to get up every morning as soon as daylight. In the first place he is to make noise like an Owl, then shouted to wake the people, and then ordered them to their respective lawful duties for the day.

“And the business of the Runner is to carry messages, or carry tidings ; and he is always ready to run. He is to give notice to the people to attend. And when they go out another town to hold council, he is to run to inform the Chiefs that live in that town that his Chiefs will arrive—such a time. And when they hold treaty with any nation he is to light his Sachem’s Pipe. And he must be man of veracity : for if he tell a falsehood, his feathers will be pulled off.

“Our Nation was divided into three clans or tribes, as Bear Tribe, Wolf Tribe, and Turtle Tribe. Our ancestors had particular opinion for each tribe to which they belonged. The Bear Tribe formerly considered as the head of the other tribes, and claims the title of hereditary office of Sachem. Yet they ever united as one family.

“And at the death of Sachem they considered as though

their light is put out, and sitting under dark clouds, and in the situation of mourning, until another is appointed to succeed in the office ; which must be done by the consent and approbation of the whole nation. Yet no other person has right to succeed but one of the nephews of the deceased Sachem, either the eldest, or the likeliest.

“ One of the wisest of their Counselors is employed on such occasions. In the first place, when all things are ready, He will address the whole Nation as follows,—

“ ‘ My friends—grand-fathers, Uncles, Brothers, Cousins, attend. You also, my women—grand-mothers, Mothers, and Sisters, listen. You, the Children—you must also hear me attentively. It is the will of the Great, Wise, Good Spirit—our great tree has been fallen to the ground, and great darkness has been spread over our fire-place these many days, whereby we become as fatherless children. According to the custom of our good ancestors, and by the help of the Great Good Spirit. I now remove all dark clouds which hangs over our fire-place. [Strings of Wampum delivered.]

“ ‘ Again listen : I now raise your heads which has been hang downwards, and wipe off all your tears from your face, so that you may see clear, and open your ears that you may hear, and set your hearts right again, that you may understand distinctly ’ ” [Strings of Wampum again delivered.]

This ceremony has passed so entirely out of use that the Tribe are unable to give the remainder ; indeed they have not retained even thus much of this interesting document. They, however, have retained their wampum. The *meaning* of a belt is remembered by the Indian Tribes in this manner. The whole body frequently assemble, and being seated, each piece is passed from hand to hand, every person repeating the words as he takes it. Then again the color conveys some idea. A blood-colored hatchet readily gives an impression of something warlike, while white speaks of peace.



SECTION III.

FURTHER PARTICULARS RELATING TO MANNERS, CUSTOMS, RELIGION, &C.

THE Muh-he-con-ne-ak, besides the articles of food mentioned in the preceding chapter, manufactured large quantities of Maple Sugar. And indeed we seem to be chiefly

indebted to them for the knowledge of this luxury, for as late as 1749, Mr. Hopkins, in writing of Stockbridge and its Indians, not only describes its taste, and the manner in which it is *made*, but tells *what it is*, as if very little known.

The Squash, too, was unknown to the English until found among the Indians, and still retains a part of its Indian name—As-ku-ta-squash—in English, Vine Apple.

The dress of the natives consisted at first of skins, and in the house the mantle was frequently dispensed with, leaving them with very little clothing. After the establishment of the Mission here, the Indians were left to choose their own mode of dress, the design being to teach them the truths of the Gospel, rather than the fashions of this or that country. European fabrics had already taken the place of their own raw materials ; and until long after their emigration from Stockbridge, the women retained the full sack, as it would now be called, and the broadcloth shirt, trimmed with strips of scarlet or other colors, where cheapness was desired, but often with ribbons of various hues, making a border a foot in depth. Gaiters were worn on the feet, and a beaver hat on the head. The aged wore it plain ; but the young, besides a wreath of flowers, added ribbons of different patterns, tied around the crown, and left to hang upon the back and shoulders, contrasting gaily with their jetty locks, and russet faces. A small Dutch blanket was also tied around the neck ;—an article of dress common to both sexes. Since their removal to Wisconsin, their national costume has been laid aside, and that of the English adopted.

The pipe and tobacco bag was formerly carried by the Indians upon the back ; and some of their pipes were very large, made of wood, or of stone, and carved. These, however, were generally *made* by the Man-qua-nogs, or Man Eaters. Their houses were built of long poles, covered with mats in the winter, and with finely dressed birch or chestnut bark for the summer. They were lined with mats, often embroidered. When a fort was to be built, or a new piece of ground was to be broken up, they acted upon the principle that many hands make light work.

The natural affections of the Indians were very strong. Old Roger Williams says that “a father will cut and stab

himself at the loss of a son ; and Mr. Sergeant speaks of the want of family government by reason of excessive indulgence. But he observes that they were "naturally as ingenious and good tempered as other people, and many of the little children very pretty and agreeable, and seemingly needing but right cultivation to form their minds and manners into every laudable quality and action, of which human nature is capable."

On entering the house of a neighbor, a Muh-he-ke-neew said nothing until he had eaten ; and no one spoke to him ; but the woman of the house immediately set refreshment before him. They had, notwithstanding their great reverence for their ancestors and head men, no epithets of respect. After the death of a friend, Mr. Williams says, the New England Indians bewailed a certain time, the length of the period being regulated by circumstances ; and that during this mourning they deemed it wrong to play, paint for beauty, or *get angry*, without a particular dispensation. The only drink of the uncontaminated Indian was cold water ; and though his physical constitution seems peculiarly inclined to the intemperate use of ardent spirits, no people have groaned more pathetically under the burning yoke, than this race have often done. For an example of their feelings upon this point see Appendix B.

The migrations of the Indians are not only to obtain food, but sometimes to obtain fuel ; and hence, when the English began to settle in the country, an opinion prevailed among the natives that they had burned up all their wood at home, and were driven to the forests by cold. Their constitutions were strong. The aged seldom used a staff. But, as the historian observes, when Chuh-ko-thuk came among them, diseases were increased.

They had a rare acquaintance with the heavenly bodies ; even the children could tell their names ; and it is an interesting fact, that not only the Muh-hu-con-ne-ok, but other New England Indians, gave the name of "The Bear," and "*Great Bear*" to the same constellation which is so called by European nations.* Their mythological

* Pau-kaun-na-waw, in the language of the *eastern* Indians, which is "The Bear."

account was this :—that these stars were so many men engaged in a bear hunt. They commenced the hunt in the spring, and by autumn had wounded the animal, so that his blood was falling upon the forests, and dyeing them with those beautiful hues of the season. In the winter they slew him, and the snow was but his dripping oil.—This melted in the spring, and furnished the trees with sap. The Seven Stars they believed were seven Indians, who had been translated in a dance.

Some of the Rites of the Muh-he-con-ne-ok were very interesting. One of these was the ceremony of offering a deer to the Great Spirit, believed to have been taught them by a messenger from heaven. It was a thank offering by some individual for particular or for general blessings. The deer was quartered, and laid, with the skin over it, in the center of the wigwam, and the Priest, *pro tem*, offered over it the following prayer, shouting at the close to call the attention of the divinity ; “ Oh, Great God—pity us ; grant us food to eat, afford us good and comfortable sleep, preserve us from being devoured by the fowls that fly in the air. This deer is given in token that we acknowledge thee the giver of all things.” He who made the feast then gave the priest a string of wampum as compensation for his services, and distributed the sacrifice among the guests, after boiling it, reserving no part for himself. During the performance of the ceremony, waiters were employed to divide the feet, skin, &c., among the poor widows of the settlement.

Another friendly custom was the Keu-ti-kaw, or dance, observed twelve months after the death of any member of the tribe, and designed as a formal close of the mourning. Guests were invited, not only from among the neighbors of the deceased, but from other settlements of the nation ; and all brought presents, which were distributed among the bereaved, with words of consolation.

These ceremonies, as well as the counsels directed to be given by parents to their children, “ rising up early, and teaching them,” certainly speak well for the Muh-he-con-ne-ok as a mild and generous race, far removed from cruelty and other low, soul-chilling vices of barbarism ; and though genius and romance have laid to their charge the crime of offering human victims upon the beautiful natural

altar which rises from our village, it must in justice be said, that *no trace* of such a custom *can be found* either among the people themselves, their historians, their rites, or their traits of character. Many thanks have gone out from warm hearts to the gifted author who has made Laurel Hill a classic ground, not only for "the tender light of interest" which she has "thrown on stocks and stones," but for her just and kind appreciation of the general virtues of the Indian character; and much are we all mistaken in our estimate of her benevolence, if she would not rejoice to exchange her painful, but beautifully wrought fiction, for an assurance of love and kindness in-wrought through the whole structure of Muh-he-con-neew mythology.

Another English tradition has been widely published, which *History* must, in faithfulness to its trust, disprove. The Legend runs thus: "An Indian Maiden, having conceived a love which she could not conquer for a youth who was her cousin,—such love being held unlawful by the institutions of her tribe,—in mingled despair and remorse, after spending the day on the top of the steep precipice of Monument Mountain in decking herself with wild flowers, and in her death song bewailing her fate, cast herself down at evening, and was dashed in pieces on the rocks at the foot. A heap of stones is said to have long marked the spot where she fell, and was buried, to which each Indian visiting it was bound to add one."

If suicide *can* be beautiful, this is a beautiful story; but is there not enough poetry in the *true* history of Stockbridge, so that we may ungrudgingly yield the *fictitious*? The Indian name of the mountain was Maus-wau-se-ki, or Fisher's Nest; and it was a common saying when overcome by grief—"I will go and jump off Fisher's Nest." The marriage of cousins too was forbidden. But beyond this, there is no foundation for the Legend to be gathered among the oldest members of the tribe. The story has been circulated among them, and believers are found; but none among "those who have seen mornings in Stockbridge." Thirty or forty years ago the tale was, that an "Indian woman jumped off for a jug of rum," but to go still farther back, Mr. Sergeant's interpreter informed him in 1734, that though they still threw each his stone as he passed, they had entirely lost the knowledge of their reason for doing so.

He supposed it *might* be an expression of gratitude for their safe return to the place ; but all certainty was lost then, and cannot, of course, have been recovered since.

In 1771, Benjamin Kok-ke-we-nau-naut, called King Benjamin, being 94 years of age, resigned his office of Sachem, and requested his people to elect a successor. Solomon Un-haun-nau-waun-nutt was chosen. But Solomon died in February, 1777, while Benjamin lived until April 1781, dying at the advanced age of 104. After the death of King Solomon, the government, it is said, devolved upon Joseph Quan-au-kaunt, pronounced, by the English at least, *Quiuncy hong*, and now generally spelled Quinney. He, being a modest, unassuming, sensible man, shrank from the responsibility of his high office, and divided his power more equally with his counselors—Peter Poh-quon-nop-peet, (pronounced Ponknepeet,) Capt. Hendrick Aupaumut and Capt. John Konkapot. Gratitude to the English led the Indians for a time to consider themselves subjects of the crown ; but their government was, and still is, entirely within their own body. Mr. J. Sergeant, the younger, prepared a Code of Laws for them while in the State of New York : but changes have taken place since, which will be noticed in their proper order.

All treaties among the various tribes of Indians were confirmed by belts or strings of Wampum. A message or treaty delivered without Wampum was said to be “an empty word.” The Wampum was a bugle made from the sea-shells gathered upon the coast. Among the eastern Indians, and probably among those in this vicinity, six *white* bugles were of the value of a penny, and three of the blue, black, red or purple, when used as coin. Another, and an important use of the Wampum was its substitution in the place of writing. The red bead signified blood, the black or dark colors had a severe meaning, while white denoted peace. Then ideas could be conveyed by the various figures into which it was wrought, a red hatchet, for instance, readily suggesting the idea of war. Thus, not only the fact that a treaty had been made, but its terms could be kept in mind, and the various circumstances in the history of a nation could be recorded. But the wandering habits and the untutored mind of the Indian would, after all, tend to obliterate from their memories every thing beyond the

leading facts, and a historian was set apart, whose office it was both to record events, and to store up in his own mind the facts recorded by his predecessors, training in turn others to succeed him. Then some, and perhaps all tribes, gathered themselves together at certain seasons, and the historian taking a piece of Wampum from the bag, repeated aloud its meaning, and passed it to the person who sat next him, who followed his example; and thus each piece was recited at least annually by every member of the tribe, male and female.

The interpreter employed by Mr. Sergeant informed him that he well remembered the time when the worship of the Great Spirit was not universal among his people, some worshipping the Sun, and others believing only in chance. But every reader of the Bible must trace in their morning counsels a strong resemblance to the Old Testament precepts. They contain just that system of morals which the unrenewed heart is prone to draw from the Bible, and to rest in for salvation. The historian, too, informed Dr. West that his people once possessed the "Good Book given by the Great Spirit; but that having lost the power to read it, they had buried it with a chief." And is it too much to believe that they did once possess the Jewish Scriptures, and from them derive a knowledge of the true religion, together with those Jewish ceremonies observed among them; that from this they "apostatized" into idolatry and atheism; but had been led at length to lay aside all visible manifestations, and return to the worship of the Unseen? Other circumstances also seem to favor such a theory. In 1815, Joseph Merrick, Esq., of Pittsfield, while scraping the ground on what has sometimes been called "Indian Hill," found four strips of parchment enclosed and sewed water-tight in hard, thick leather, having the appearance of a portion of the trace of a harness. On the parchment was written, in Hebrew characters, the identical passages of Scripture which the Jews used as Phylacteries, viz.: Ex. 13th, 11th to 16th, Deut. 6th, 4th to 9th, and 11th, 13th to 21st. In opening the case, Esq. M. destroyed one of the strips; the others were sent to the Antiquarian Society. For the account of another similar curiosity also see Appendix C.

When the Indians would confer honor upon a person,

and yet not raise him to any office, they had a method of doing it by conferring upon him a new and significant name. As this custom *now* exists among some of the Six Nations, and probably as it was observed by the Muh-hu-con-ne-ok, a speech is first delivered, after which the individual is taken by the arm and led around the circle, the chiefs and warriors joining in a chant, low at first, but swelling into a loud, full, wild chorus. He is then conducted to his seat, and the new name is conferred upon him.



SECTION IV.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE MUH-HE-KA-NE-OK.

[*Gathered chiefly from the Treatise of President Edwards*]

MATHER says of the Indian Languages, that the words seem to have been growing ever since the confusion of Babel, and instances Kummogkodonattoottummoetiteaongannunnonash, — our question. This characteristic, however, is more striking in the language of the Six and Eastern Nations than in that of the Muh-he-ka-neew; yet, in this last, there are some words which seem to end only when the powers of the throat are exhausted. Take, for example, oh-quut-a-mou-we-nau-nuh, and an-neh-oh-quut-a-mon-woi-e-auk; and the difficulty of *speaking* is greatly increased by the multiplicity of gutturals. *Gh* has the strong guttural sound which the Scots give to the same letters in the words *enough* and *tough*. *U* has the sound which we give it in *uncle*, though much more protracted. “*E* final,” says Dr. Edwards, “is never sounded in any word that I write, except in monosyllables; but the other vowels are the same as in English. *W* is a mere consonant, as in *work*.” Syllables composed only of consonants are so slightly sounded that the *particular* vowel omitted is not distinguished.

Dr. Edwards observes that most writers who spell Indian words from sound, use the letter *a* when the sound is that of *oh*, or *au*; and great mistakes may be made from a want of understanding between the parties. For in-

stance—if a man hold out *his* hand to an Indian to know the name, he may receive the answer “knisk”—*thy hand*; but if he *touches* the hand of the *Indian*, he is told “nnisk”—*my hand*; and in either case he will set the answer down as the Indian word for hand, *simply*, when in fact there is no such word in the language. These circumstances should be considered when words are given in different dialects to show a similarity. In the tables below, the Muh-he-ka-neew words are given by Dr. Edwards, whose readiness in that language was such, that during the early part of his life his thoughts ran in it, rather than in his mother tongue, and the Indians themselves pronounced his knowledge perfect. The Chippeway and Shawanoe words are gathered by him from other authors, and those marked R. W., are from “Roger Williams’ Key to the Languages of the New England Indians,” published in London in 1643.

Dr. E. asserts, upon his own authority, that the language of the Muh-he-ka-ne-ok, the Delawares, and the various New England tribes was radically the same; and from the authority of “Capt. Yoghun, a principal Indian of the Muh-he-ka-neew Tribe,” and from Carver’s Travels, he includes in the list as originally of one nation, the “Penobscots, St. Francis, Ottowaus, Nanticokes, Munsees, Menomonees, Messisaugas, Saukies, Ottagaumies, Killistinoes, Nipegons, Shawanoes, Chippeways, Algonkins, Winnebagoes, &c.” But there is evidence that the Munsees—a branch of the Delawares, as also the Delawares themselves, were of the Six Nations, whose language, he says is totally unlike that of the Muh-he-ka-neew; so that it is impossible to arrange the Indians into nations upon the evidence of language only.

Table of Indian Words.

ENGLISH.	MUH-HE-KA-NEEW.	SHAWANOE.	CHIPFEWAY.	R. W.
A Bear.	Mquoh.	Mau-quah.	Muck-wah.	
A Beaver.	A-mis-que.	A-ma-quah.	A-mik.	
Ear.	To-woh-que.	To-wa-cah.		
House	Wee-ku-wuhm.	We-cu-ah.	Wig-waum.	
I die.	Nip.		Nip.	
Dead.	Nboo-or-ne-poo.		Nee-poo.	
His teeth.	We-pee-ton.	We-pee-ta-lee.		

ENGLISH.	MUH-HE-KA-NEEW.	SHAWANOE.	CHIPPEWAY.	R. W.
I.	Ne-ah.	Ne-lah.		
Thou.	Ke-ah.	Ke-lah.		
We.	Ne-an-nah.	Ne-lau-weh.		
Ye.	Ke-au-wuh.	Ke-lau-weh.		
Make a fire.	Poo-tou-wah.		Pont-wah.	
A Spirit.	Man-ni-to.		Man-i-tou.	Mannitto.
River.	Se-poo.	The-pee.	Sip-pim.	Scip.
Good for naught.	M-til.		Ma-la-tat.	
Shoe.	M-kis-sin.		Mau-kis-sin.	
The Sun.	Kec-sough.		Kis-sis.	
Sit down.	Mat-ti-peh.		Min-ti-pin.	
Winter.	H-poon.		Pe-poun.	Pa-pone.
How.	Tu-neh.		Tow-ne.	
Marry.	Wee-ween.		Wee-win.	
Where.	Te-hah.		Tah.	
Go.	Pu-mis-seh.		Pim-mous-sie.	

Roger Williams gives Scip, for *a river* ; Se-po-ese, for *a little river* ; and Se-poe-mese, for *a little rivulet*. The second might be pronounced Se-poe-se, which is the Indian name for Konkapot's Brook. He also gives Pow-waw, for *a priest* ; Nuin, for *man* ; Nuin-nu-og, for *men* ; Squaws, for *woman* ; Squaws-suck, *women* ; Homes, *an old man* ; Home-suck, *old men* ; Pa-poos, *a child* ; No-na-nese, *an infant*, Sucki, *black* ; Nip-pa-wus, *the sun* ; Mun-nan-nock, *the moon*, &c. The Beaver has several names, but all unlike those given it by the Muh-he-ka-ne-ok. Indeed, the *languages* and the *customs* seem to be about equally similar, so far as can be judged by illustrations given ; in many cases they are *alike*, but in many others *unlike*.

The Muh-he-ka-neew has no diversity of gender, and of course the Indians make no distinction when they begin to speak English, but use *he* for *she*. The plural is formed by the addition of a letter or syllable, as Ne-man-nauw, *a man* ; Ne-man-nauk, *men* ; pe-num-pau-soo, *a boy*, pe-num-pau-soo-uk, *boys*.

Of cases they have but one variation from the nominative, and that is formed by the addition of *an*, as wne-chun, *his* or *her* child, and wne-chun-an, which equally suits either of the other cases. They have no proper adjectives ; none which express the qualities of substantives, but use,

instead, neuter verbs, as—Wnis-soo, he is beautiful; Peh-tun-quis-soo, he is tall; and Dr. Edwards answers the question “how these verbs do not become adjectives?” by saying that “they have all the same variations and declensions of other verbs,” as—

N-pum-seh,	I walk ;—(a verb.)
K-pum-seh,	Thou walkest ;
Pu-mis-soo,	He walketh ;
N-pum-seh-nuh,	We walk ;
K-pum-seh-muh,	Ye walk ;
Pu-mis-soo-uk,	They walk ;
and	
N-peh-tuh-quis-seh,	I am tall ;—(an adjective.)
K-peh-tuh-quis-seh,	Thou art tall ;
Peh-tuh-quis-soo,	He is tall ;
N-peh-tuh-quis-seh-nuh,	We are tall ;
K-peh-tuh-quis-seh-muh,	Ye are tall ;
Peh-tuh-ques-soo-uk,	They are tall.

These verbs all have participles ; and as they have no relative pronouns answering to our *who*, and *which*, instead of saying, *The man who walks*, they say, *The walking man*, or *The walker* ; and the participles are declined in the same manner as the verbs. Again,—instead of saying *He is a man*, they change the noun Ne-man-nauw, into the neuter verb Ne-man-nau-woo, avoiding the necessity of auxiliary verbs ; and therefore in speaking English they say “*I man*,” “*I sick*,” &c.

To express comparison they use an adverb with the verb, as:—

An-nu-we-weh wnis-soo,	He is more beautiful ;
Kan-nuh wnis-soo,	He is very beautiful.
Ne-man-nau-woo,	He is a man ;
An-nu-wee-weh ne-maun-nau-woo,	He is a man of superior excellence or courage ; and
Kan-nuh ne-man-nau-woo,	He is a man of extraor- dinary excellence or courage.

Besides the usual pronouns, they express both the substantive and adjective pronouns by prefixes or suffixes, and sometimes by both, the pronouns for the singular number being *pre*-fixed, and then, these retained, those for the plural being *suf*-fixed ; the vowels also being changed, and

transposed. Thus—Tmoh-he-can, is *a hatchet*; Ndum-he-can, in which *o* is exchanged for *u*, and placed before the *m*, is *my hatchet*; U-tum-he-can, *his hatchet*; N-dum-he-can-nuh, *our hatchet*; K-tum-he-can-oo-wuh, *your hatchet*; U-tum-he-can-noo-wuh, *their hatchet*.

Many of the appellatives, as father, mother, head, hand, &c., are never used without a pronoun prefixed or affixed. Muh-he-ka-neew can say Nogh, *my father*, and Kogh, *thy father*, &c.; but not *father*, absolutely; there is no such word as Ogh in the language. Objects however which do not always have an owner, are spoken of absolutely.

The pronouns are prefixed and affixed to *verbs*, in the same manner. They never use a verb without a nominative or agent, and never use a transitive verb without expressing both the agent and the object. They cannot say *To love*, *I love*, *Thou givest*, &c.; but say Nduh-whu-nuw, *I love him or her*; Nduh-whun-tam-min, *I love it*, &c.; yet they have the abstract words—*love*, *hate*, and the like.

Another peculiarity is that the nominative and objective pronouns prefixed and suffixed, are always used, even though other nominatives and objectives are expressed. Thus—they cannot say, *John loves Peter*; but, John u-dah-whun-nuw Peteran—*John he loves him Peter*.

Again, the pronoun in the objective case is sometimes expressed in the same instance by both a prefix and a suffix; as K-thu-whu-nin, *I love thee*; in which the *k* prefixed, and the *in* suffixed, both unite to express, and are both necessary to express the objective case—*thee*.

They have a past, and a future tense, but generally use the present, as—Wnu-ku-woh ndi-o-tu-woh, *Yesterday I fight*; when the addition of *poh* to the last word would express—*Yesterday I fought*. Ndi-o-tu-wauch wup-koh, is—*I shall fight to-morrow*; and Wup-kauch ndi-o-tu-woh, *To-morrow I fight*. But in this last case the change is in the word *to-morrow*, and not in the verb *fight*.

There are few prepositions in the language, and those are rarely used, except in composition. For instance—An-neh is *to*, and E-cheh is *from*; but they are oftenest expressed by a change in the verb. Ndogh-peh, is—*I ride*; but *I ride to Wnogh-que-too-koke*, (or Stockbridge,

—generally spelled Wnahk-tu-kook)—is not written—Anneh Wnogh-que-too-koke ndogh-peh, but Wnogh-que-too-koke ndin-ne-togh-peh; and, *I ride from Wnogh-que-too-koke*, is written—Wnogh-que-too-koke no-che-togh-peh. And these prepositions may be thus compounded with any other verb.

The *third* person singular seems to be the radix of the persons of their verbs in the indicative mood, but the *second* person singular of the imperative is the simplest of any form; as—

Meet-seh,	Eat thou;
Meet-soo,	He eateth;
Nmeet-seh,	I eat;
Kmeet-seh,	Thou eatest.

The Muh-he-ka-ne-ok distinguish between the various family relations in a different manner from the English. Ne-toh-con, is the epithet by which an Elder Brother is distinguished, N-mase is an Elder Sister, and Nghee-sum is Younger Brother *or* Sister. N-sase is, My Uncle, by my Mother's side, and Nuch-eh-que is, My Uncle, by my Father's side.

From these items of Indian grammar it may readily be seen why Indians who are in the habit of speaking their *own* language, of hearing it from the pulpit, and of writing it among themselves, make many mistakes in syntax when they attempt to speak or write English. No argument should be deduced from this to their discredit as men of education; indeed, the writings of well educated English people who live among them, previous to correction for the public eye, are, to say the least, as erroneous as many compositions of the Indians themselves; and Mr. Sergeant, the elder, is the only adult among us who is known to have spoken *Muh-he-ka-necw* perfectly. Let us be fair, and acquire *their* languages before we call them ignorant, simply because they speak ours incorrectly.

When a modern impostor visited the New York Indians, proclaiming her divine mission and character, one of them attempted to address her in his native tongue. "Speak to me in English," said she, "I cannot understand Indian." "What!" answered an old woman in the crowd, "You be Jesus Christ, and can't understand poor Indian? Jesus

Christ *made* poor Indian, and he can *understand* him when he *pray*." Such a test effectually silenced the prophetess."

The following translations may seem to us but unmeaning jargons; but whether "Our Father" be spoken in the sacred Hebrew, the languages of the most polished nations, or the rude, unwritten dialects of savage tribes, it is the same "Our Father" still; the same in its heavenly origin; the same in its solemn truths, and the same in the ear of the Universal Father who listens, and of the Elder Brother who taught it to the great family of men. Instead then of being a mere curiosity, and being read as if it had no meaning, each new translation may well be considered as another instrument in the sacred band of harmonious worship, another foretaste of that day when every kindred, and *tongue*, and nation, shall unite in fraternal communion, ascribing glory and honor, and power, to Him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb—forever and ever.

Translation by APOSTLE ELIOT into the language of the Eastern Indians of New England.

Nashen ke-suk-qut, *Our Father heaven in*; Qut-tian-at-a-mu-na, *hallowed*; Kto-we-su-onk, *Thy name*; Pe-you-mutch, *come*; Kuk-ke-tas-su-ta-moonk, *Thy kingdom*, Kut-ten-an-ta-moonk-nen, *Thy will*; nach-oh-keit, *done earth on*; ne-ane, *as*; ke-suk-qut, *heaven in*. Nam-meet-su-on-gash, *Our food*; a-se-ku-suk-o-kish, *daily*; a-san-cau-ne-an, *give us*; yeu-yeu ke-su-kod, *this day*; kah, *and*; ah-nuan-ta-maun-ne-an, *forgive us*; num-match-e-se-on-gash, *our sins*; ne-ane, *as*; mat-che-ne-kuk-quen-gid, *wicked doers*; nu-tah-quon-ta-moun-no-nog, *we forgive them*; ah-que, *also*; sag-kom-pa-gu-nai-in-nean, *lead us*; en qutch-hu-a-on-ga-nit, *not temptation in*. We-he, *Oh*; poh-quoh-wus-sin-nean, *deliver*; wutch-match, *evil*; i-tut, *from*; ne-wut-che, *for*; ku-tah-taun, *thine*; ke-tas-su-ta-monk, *kingdom*; kah, *and*; me-nuh ke-su-onk, *power*; kah, *and*; soh-su-moonk, *glory*; mi-cheme, *forever*; AMEN.

Dialect of the Six Nations.

So-ang-wau-ne-ha cau-rounk-yaw-ga teh-see-ta-roan sauh-sone-you-sta esa sa-wa-na-you o-ket-tauh-se-la eh-neau-wo-ung na cau-rounk-yaw-ga nugh-won-shau-ga ne-ate-weh-ne-sa-lau-ga taug-wau-nau-to-ro-no-an-ough-sick to-

an-taug-we-lee-whe-you-sta-ung che-nee-yeut cha-qua-tau-leh-whe-you-staun-na tough-sou taug-wans-sa-re-neh ta-wau tot-te-nau-ga-lough-toung-ga-na-saw-ne sa-che-au-taug-was eo-an-teh-sa-le-haun-za-ic-kaw esa sa-wau-ne-you e-a sa-shouty-ta esa soun-g-wa-soung chen-ne-au-haung-wa; AUWEN.

Dialect of the Stockbridge Indians, called by PRESIDENT EDWARDS, the Mohegan.

Nogh-nuh, ne-spum-muck oi-e-on taugh mau-weh wneh wtu-ko-sea-uk nean-ne un-nu-woi-e-on. Taugh-ne aun-chu-wu-tam-mun wa-weh-tu-seek ma-weh noh pum-mek. Ne-an-noi-hit-teech mau-weh u-wau-neek noh h-key oi-ech-cek ne an-nchu-wu-tam-mun, ne au-noi-hit-tut neek spum-muk oi-ech-eck. Me-ne-nau-nuh noo-uoh wuh-kamauk t-quogh nuh uh-hu-yu-ta-mauk ngum-mau-weh.— Oh-quut-a-mou-we-nau-nuh au-neh mu-mach-oi-e-au-keh, ne an-neh oh-quut-a-mou-woi-e-auk num-peh neek mu-mach-eh an-ne-ho-quauk-eek. Cheen hquuk-quauch-eh si-uk-eh an-ne-he-nau-nuh. Pan-nee-weh h-tou-we-nau-nuh neen maum-teh-keh. Ke-ah ng-weh-cheh kwi-ou-wan-weh mau-weh noh pum-meh; ktan-woi; es-tah a-waun wtin-noi-yu-wun ne au-noi-e-you; han-wee-weh ne ktin-noi-een. AMEN.

It is the opinion of Mr. Byington, missionary to the Choctaws, that many long words in the Indian languages are as really sentences as those which they express are sentences in ours, and that it is only the rapid enunciation of the savage tribes, or their habit of drawing one word into another, which has deceived those who have translated Indian dialects. He says that such is the case with the Choctaws, and that for a time the missionaries were led into a mistake; and he believes that Mr. Sergeant was in the same error when he translated the Catechism.— Whether or not this could have been the case with Pres. Edwards, linguists must decide for themselves. He certainly appears to have understood, not only the *sound*, but the *structure* of the language, and Mr. Slingerland, of the Stockbridge tribe, replies to the remark of Mr. Byington that he “supposes the southern tongues unlike theirs.”

SECTION V.

FIRST PURCHASE OF LAND IN HOUSATONIC.

ALTHOUGH the Charter of Massachusetts Bay extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the Dutch, who were not liked as neighbors, had settled along the Hudson ; and for this reason, and through fear of the descent of the French and Indians from Canada, the west part of Massachusetts was the last to be settled, and, indeed, for a century after the settlement of the coast, was but little known.

"In 1722, Joseph Parsons, and 176 others, living in the County of Hampshire, petitioned the General Assembly of Massachusetts for two townships, within the said county, upon the river Housatonic," the County of Hampshire, at that time, extending to the line of the Dutch settlements. The petition was granted Jan. 30, 1722, and a committee appointed to make the purchase of the Indians, divide the tract, and admit settlers. The towns were to be seven miles square, and land was "to be reserved for the first settled minister, for the future support of the Gospel, and for schools." Each proprietor was to pay thirty shillings ; and this fund was to purchase the land, lay it out, and build churches and school houses. The committee met at Springfield, March 19, 1723, and received the names of 55 settlers, and on the 25th of April, 1724, the Indians gave a deed of the whole, signed by Konkapot and twenty other Indians at Westfield, "in consideration of £450, 3 barrels of cider, and 30 quarts of rum."

Within this tract was included, besides other towns, the greater part of Stockbridge and West Stockbridge. A few families of Indians lived on the south of Green River, near the line between Barrington and Sheffield, forming a village called Ska-te-hook, and the line of purchase was run so as not to disturb them. The time had been when the natives were more numerous in Great Barrington, and their utensils and weapons of Indian manufacture were often found. A "Great Wigwam," or Castle, as it was sometimes called, stood on the bank of the river, half a mile below the bridge afterwards built by the whites, and

tradition says that the spot was once the site of "a considerable settlement." Three-fourths of a mile above the bridge, an Indian burial ground has been discovered. A few families also lived in New Marlborough, others in Pittsfield, then Poontoosuc, or Field of the Winter Deer, and others still, in this place, called by them W-nahk-ta-kook, or The Great Meadow. The cabin of Konkapot stood upon a knoll, on the east side of the Barrington road, and a few rods north of the brook which bears his name. He gave to his friend and interpreter, Jehoiakim Van Valkenburgh, 40 acres of meadow, and 250 acres of upland adjoining. The house of Van Valkenburgh stood on the site since occupied by Mr. Francis Dresser; and of course the meadow lay at the west end of what is now our village, and the upland was on the southern slope of the hill. A few other Dutch families had settled here previous to 1734. Umpachenee, another distinguished Indian, resided in Ska-te-hook. The name is now spelled Au-pauch-chi-nau. The Charter, given by Gov. Belcher, is preserved in this town.



SECTION VI.

DAY-BREAK IN HOUSATONIC.

"KONKAPOT, the principal man among the Muh-he-ka-ne-ok of Massachusetts, was," says Mr. Hopkins, "strictly temperate, very just and upright in his dealings, a man of prudence and industry, and inclined to embrace the Christian religion;" but he had two objections; one, the fear that his people would discard him, and the other, the sad truth that the conversation of the Christians about him was even worse than that of the heathen. This coming "accidentally," (providentially?) to the knowledge of Mr. Hopkins, minister of West Springfield, through his neighbor, Mr. Ebenezer Miller, he resolved that the Gospel should be preached to them, not by the lives of mere nominal Christians, but, God granting, in its purity and power; and having learned, the May preceding, that funds were deposited by the "Society for the Promotion of the Gos-

pel in Foreign parts," in the hands of Commissioners in Boston for such purposes, and knowing also that John Stoddard, Esq., of Northampton, was most intimately acquainted with the state of the Indian Tribes, he visited him, March 11, 1734. Of Esquire Stoddard he learned that the River Indians were the largest of any tribe near the English settlements ; that the prospect of doing them good was greater than was afforded at the Forts, where missionaries had been stationed, and yet that nothing had been done to civilize them—worse than nothing to christianize them. His next step was to confer with Rev. Stephen Williams, D. D., of Longmeadow, one of the " Redeemed Captives," and at their request Rev. William Williams of Hatfield, wrote to the Commissioners, and they immediately requested Dr. Williams and Mr. Hopkins to make a journey to Housatonic and ascertain the feelings of the Indians upon the subject. But as Governor Belcher had conferred a Captain's commission upon Konkapot, and the commission of Lieutenant upon Umpachenee, and they would be obliged to come to Springfield to receive them, Mr. Hopkins and Dr. Williams thought best to confer with *them first* ; and accordingly called at their lodges, May 22d, and, through Van Valkenburgh, proposed the subject to them. Captain Konkapot seemed very earnest, and Umpachenee said that he would not oppose ; still, they could speak only for themselves, and wished the ministers to visit the Tribe and gain the consent of all ; and July was fixed upon as the time for the journey. When that time arrived Mr. Hopkins was sick, and Rev. Nehemiah Bull of Westfield took his place. A road had been cut through the wilderness since the purchase of Housatonic, but it lay over the *rugged*, as a less evil than the *wet* ; and those acquainted with the face of the country between Springfield and Stockbridge, may perhaps form some conception of the pleasure of the trip. July 8, 1734, however, they arrived safely in Housatonic, and were cordially welcomed by Capt. Konkapot. The people being assembled, they asked four days to consider the subject ; and at the end of that time all gave in their names to the ministers as tokens of their assent, and received a belt of wampum in confirmation of the agreement. Lieut. Umpachenee was now as cordial as Capt. Konkapot.

SECTION VII.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MISSION.

NOT long after the return of the ministers, Dr. Williams waited upon the Commissioners at Boston—viz., Gov. Belcher, Dr. Colman, Dr. Sewall, Esquires T. and E. Hutchinson, and T. Steel, and A. Winthrop, Esqrs.,—acquainting them with the good disposition of the Indians. The Commissioners were satisfied with the report, and Aug. 16, appointed Messrs. Williams and Bull a committee to seek some suitable person for the office of missionary, offering him £100 a year for his support.

Mr. JOHN SERGEANT, a native of Newark, New Jersey, was at the time a Tutor in Yale College. He had been heard to say that he would prefer the life of a missionary among the Indians to any other; and this being reported to the Committee, they made application to him in September. He replied that, with the consent of the Rector and Trustees, he would agree to spend one half of the year with the Indians until he should have carried his pupils through their course of studies, and after that, if his labors proved successful, he would take up his residence with them for life. The answer was accepted, and, Oct. 8, he left New Haven for his new field of labor. Mr. Sergeant had long prayed for such an opening, and the state of his mind when his prayers were answered, proved their sincerity. In his diary he says:—

“I was sensible I must not only lose a great many agreeable amusements of life, especially in leaving my business at College, which was the most agreeable to me that could be, but also expose myself to many fatigues or hardships, and I know not to what dangers; yet I was so far from being unwilling, that I was rather desirous to improve what abilities I had in such an undertaking. Indeed I should be ashamed to own myself a *Christian*, or even a *man*, and yet utterly refuse doing what lay in my power to cultivate humanity, and to promote the salvation of souls.”

Mr. Bull was chosen to introduce the pastor to his future charge; and they left Westfield on the afternoon of Oct. 11, intending to pass the night at the only house on the

road. This, however, they failed to reach, and spent it in the open air. The second day they arrived at Housatonic ; and notice having been given, the Indians assembled at Barrington, about twenty adults being present, and there heard the first sermon from Mr. Sergeant. Good attention was given, especially by Capt. Konkapot and his family, and prospects seemed altogether as favorable as had been anticipated.



SECTION VIII.

FORMATION OF THE CHURCH.

MR. SERGEANT'S interpreter having lived among the whites, and those, it would seem, of good moral character, had gained a fair knowledge of the Christian religion, and was anxious to become openly a believer. A meeting was accordingly appointed at the house of Lieut. Umpachencee on Thursday, the 18th of October, 1734, where he passed a satisfactory examination. Mr. Bull then offered a prayer, which the candidate interpreted, Mr. Sergeant delivered a short discourse, and then Mr. Bull administered the rite of baptism, giving to the candidate the appropriate name of Ebenezer, he entering into the following profession and covenant:—

“ Through the goodness of God towards me, in bringing me into the way of the knowledge of the Gospel, I am convinced of the truth of the *Christian Religion*, and that it is the only way that leads to *salvation and happiness*. I therefore freely and heartily forsake *heathenish darkness*, and embrace the *light* of the Gospel, and the way of holiness. And do now, in presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of hearts, and before many witnesses, seriously and solemnly take the Lord Jehovah to be my God and portion, Jesus Christ, His Son, to be my Lord and Redeemer, and the Holy Ghost to be my Sanctifier and Teacher. And I do now covenant and promise, by the help of Divine Grace, that I will cleave to the Lord with purpose of heart, believing his revealed truths, as far as I can gain the knowledge of them, obeying his commands, both those which mark out my duty, and those that forbid sin,—sincerely, and uprightly to the end of my life.”

The former name of Ebenezer, which now became his surname, seems to have been Poopoonuk, or Pau-paumnuk. This was the commencement of our Church organization, and the covenant into which the candidate now entered was evidently the one used by the church for many years, with slight alterations, of course, for those trained in the Christian faith. Here our earthly leaders set up their *Ebenezer*, for hitherto the Lord had helped them; nor should the stone of help be yet removed. He has been with us in six troubles, and in seven has not forsaken us. Let us continue to trust Him.

One suggestion:—would it not be both pleasant and profitable, if we and our twin sister church in the West would commemorate this our birth-day by appropriate religious exercises, and by the interchange of fraternal epistles in season to be read upon the occasion?



SECTION IX.

PROGRESS OF LIGHT.

LONG and dark was the night which had brooded over Housatonic, and deadly were the damps upon the spirit of the Muh-he-ka-neew; but now the Sun of Righteousness had risen with healing in his beams; the mists were rolling away upon the mountains, and though now and then a cloud cast a shadow upon the valleys, still the bright promise of noonday cheered the laborers on to their toil.

At the meeting in Ska-te-hook on Thursday, Ebenezer pointed out to Mr. Sergeant a little boy, named Showannun, who had torn himself from a loving and beloved father that he might receive instruction from the missionary. Perhaps he was undutiful; but when the salvation of the soul is at stake, it is hard to condemn.

At the same time, the Indians consulted together upon a plan for future action; and the decision was, that during the winter season they should collect at Parrington where there was wood and water, and where some English families had settled, with whom Mr. Sergeant could board;

though, through the summer, they must be scattered for the purpose of cultivating their lands.

Sabbath, Oct. 20, Mr. Sergeant preached twice to attentive audiences—Van Valkenburg interpreting—and on Monday the Indians commenced, with light hearts and ready hands, the erection of a public building, which was to serve as church and school-house. Around this they built small huts for themselves, and were soon settled in them for the winter. In the meantime, Mr. Sergeant visited W-nahk-ta-kook and Ska-te-hook, and gathered in each place nine or ten children from the few families resident there, who treated him with great respect, and seemed very eager in the pursuit of knowledge. Sabbath, Nov. 3, the audience was greatly increased, and for the first time Mr. Sergeant, by an interpreter, led them in prayer.

November 5th, he opened a school in the new building, and soon numbered over twenty scholars. But having been requested to visit Albany to inquire into the disposition of the Mohawks, he left on the 25th, and did not return until Saturday, Nov. 30. During his absence, Mr. Hopkins had procured for him an assistant, Mr. Timothy Woodbridge, “a young man well qualified for the work of teaching and catechizing;” and to him the mission was intrusted on the return of Mr. Sergeant to New Haven. To both missionaries the children very readily attached themselves.

Before his departure, however, Mr. Sergeant was called to meet difficulties and discouragements. Lord’s Day, Dec. 8, he had but few hearers, and the previous week had been one of trial. The Dutch were in the practice of furnishing spirits to the Indians and then trading with them while in a state of intoxication; and they were strongly opposed to the establishment of missions among them.—This week they had been in Barrington, and while they sold poison for the bodies of the Indians, they very diligently furnished poison for their souls without compensation. They told the Indians that the Government were not their friends, and for that reason, would not allow private individuals to sell intoxicating liquors to them; and that the design of the missionaries was to capture them and their families for slaves. Many became too deeply infected, *body* and *soul*, to venture themselves in the place

of worship on the Sabbath, and except the Lord had been upon the side of truth, they had been swallowed up quickly. But Mr. Sergeant requested the In'ians to meet at his boarding-place on Sabbath evening, and so far succeeded in winning back their confidence, that not only Capt. Konkapot committed to his care his only son, Nungka-wat, a lad nine years of age, but Lieut. Umpachenee, whose mind had been soured, though he had refrained from drinking, consented that his eldest son, E-to-wau-kaum, eight years old, should also spend the winter in New Haven.

Monday morning, Dec. 9, they started on their journey, going by the way of Westfield. The boys bore its fatigues with exemplary patience, and arrived at New Haven on the 14th, where they attended school with white children, and lodged in the College with Mr. Sergeant. Every one took notice of them, and strove to please them, and they were contented and happy. They proved also to be boys of unusual promise, particularly E-to-wau-kaum.

Mr. Sergeant had during his stay instructed the Indians in the great principles of the Bible, endeavoring to *correct* their notions of God the Creator, of good and of evil, and of rewards and punishments, so far as they were wrong, and *add* to them those doctrines of which they were ignorant. Of Capt. Konkapot he says, in a letter to the Commissioners, "he is an excellent man, and I do believe has the true spirit of christianity in him." Strong drink, loose, vicious persons Christian in name, and selfish traders he mentions as the only enemies to success.

Dec. 19, Mr. Sergeant wrote to the Indians, assuring them that they were "always in his heart," and dissuading them from listening again to those who would keep them in darkness. "Knowledge," he says, "is certainly good. It is to the mind, what light is to the eye. You would think them your greatest enemies that should endeavor to put out your eyes, especially if you were traveling a difficult road. This world is like a thick and entangled wilderness; and why should not you, as well as other people, enjoy the benefit of the light. Truth is more precious than the light of the sun. Don't suffer your enemies to impose upon you."

This letter was very joyfully received, especially as the

River Indians generally were about to hold a council at Housatonic to consider the practicability of the mission. "They who will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution." If Satan has no instrument at hand, he will do this work himself; but if *others* can be employed, two evils are accomplished, and he has double gain. The Indians at Housatonic had heard that those of their tribe who were still settled upon the Hudson, highly resented their conduct, feeling themselves dishonored by not being earlier consulted, and that a project was on foot to poison Konkapot and Umpachenee. They were more particularly angry with these men because they had received commissions from the Governor. The report may have been true; or it may, as the English suspected, have been invented by the designing traders; but so greatly were the poor Indians alarmed, that they requested the attendance of some of the clergymen of the county as their friends. Accordingly, Mr. Samuel Hopkins of West Springfield, the projector, and afterwards the Historian of the Mission, together with Dr. Williams of Longmeadow, and John Ashley, Esq., of Westfield came, Jan. 15th, 1735. The Indians from the river did not arrive until Saturday, the 19th. On Sabbath, Mr. Hopkins preached to the English at Sheffield, who were without a pastor, and Dr. Williams preached to one hundred and fifty or two hundred Indians. After the Sabbath, various conferences were held; a letter was read from John Stoddard, Esq., and the whole matter was so satisfactorily explained, that the Indians from abroad expressed their thanks to the ministers, and requested that the pastor and teacher would go forward in their work, intimating that they themselves might wish to receive instruction.

But such meetings were always closed with drinking, and "frolicking," as dancing was then called, and as soon as all was over, several of the Housatonic Indians fell sick, and two of them died. This was not surprising to the whites, as their excess in eating and drinking, and exposure to the cold when heated in the dance were sufficient to induce diseases. But the poor Indians were terrified, and Feb. 21 they held, or performed, a Powwaw at the wigwam of Umpachenee, to discover the murderers, who, they thought, would be visible to the priest. Capt. Kon-

kapot attended; Mr. Woodbridge also rode down in the evening, being informed by Ebenezer Poopoonuck of their intention. More than forty Indians were present. When Mr. Woodbridge arrived, the ceremony had not commenced, and they gave him permission to attend and witness it. In the morning, he explained to them the sinful nature of the custom, and they resolved never to be guilty of it again; indeed, those best instructed seemed deeply penitent. Capt. Konkapot had not gone without informing the teacher of what he was about to do; but Mr. Woodbridge did not understand him, and was not suspicious of any wrong.

Early in February, Ebenezer visited Mr. Sergeant at New Haven, and returned with another letter, in which occur such sentiments as these:—"I am very glad to hear that you are well, and that all things go well with you. My heart is with you, though I am so far distant from you. But the greatest pleasure of all is that you have it yet in your hearts to become Christians. When I had heard that you concluded in your late general meeting to embrace Christianity, it was more pleasing to me than cold water to a thirsty man in the heat of summer, or a plentiful meal to one almost starved with hunger, or good success to one who has hunted a great while in vain."

By the middle of the month, sugar-making came on; and as all then repaired to the woods, and remained until the end of March or the middle of April, Mr. Woodbridge took this time to visit his friends in West Springfield. By him the Indians wrote to those clergymen who had interested themselves in their behalf, informing them that though their business now called them, with their families, abroad, yet in a little time they should return and receive farther instruction; and they desired that their removal might not be interpreted as an expression of disaffection towards the new religion, as they were still resolved to increase in the knowledge and practice of it so soon as circumstances should permit. To this the ministers replied, April 10th, 1735, expressing their satisfaction in the good disposition and progress of the Indians, and their readiness to aid them to the extent of their abilities.

In the spring, Capt. Konkapot, Lieut. Umpachenee, his brother Toh-toh-kuk-hoo-naut, and Ebenezer, went to New

Haven to wait upon Mr. Sergeant to Housatonic, and to bring back the boys. Mr. Sergeant entertained them with much respect, showed them the curiosities of the college, and was gratified with their good behavior and attention. May 8th they started for Housatonic, and arrived on the night of the 10th, Saturday, having left Nung-haw-wat in New Haven to pursue his studies still farther. On the Sabbath the audience was solemn, Umpachenee's wife wept almost constantly, and Konkapot was often in tears. Mr. Sergeant remained only sixteen days; but two schools were kept up during the time, one in W-nahk-ta-kook, and the other in Ska-te-hook.

July 1, 1735, Mr. Sergeant dismissed his class in college and left New Haven for Housatonic, where he arrived on the 5th, and on the next week commenced teaching. Two schools were again taught, Mr. Sergeant and Mr. Woodbridge changing places every week.

July 13th, came another trial of faith. The Indians had gone into the New York country to assist the Dutch in their harvest, where they would be exposed to the strongest temptations, and the bare walls of the church might well ring with the gloomy forbodings. Yet the Lord was better to them than their fears. The Spirit was present in the assembly, Capt. Konkapot was constantly bathed in tears; and when the laborers returned during the week, they were found to have endured beyond expectation. One man in particular, W-naum-pee, had resolutely held his ground, saying that he "designed to go to heaven, and must break off from such wickedness." The close of this harvest season brings us to a new and important era in the history of the Housatonic Mission.



SECTION X.

ORDINATION OF MR. SERGEANT.

WRITING to Dr. Colman after his return to New Haven in the spring of 1735, Mr. Sergeant expressed his belief that the Spirit of God was at work among the Indians, and

his willingness to devote his future life to labors among them. He also says, "there is now, and I hope will be, work enough for two; I hope therefore that Mr. Woodbridge will be maintained with me." £100 each, he was convinced, would no more than meet their expenses, as the necessities of life must be obtained at great cost; but he leaves it to the commissioners, remarking that money alone was no temptation at all to him to devote himself to such a life; yet he thought it no more than reasonable that he should receive so much as would leave his mind free from worldly cares and anxieties.

Another subject mentioned in this letter was his *ordination*. Some of the Indians wished to be baptized, and he thought them prepared for the ordinance; but he was not himself qualified to administer it. For this reason he wished to be ordained as soon as his labors at the college were closed, either at Housatonic, which would be least expensive, or at some other place appointed by the Commissioners.

Several weeks passed after the receipt of this letter before the Commissioners again met; but August 13th, Mr. Sergeant received a letter from Adam Winthrop Esq., Secretary, notifying him that the last of August had been appointed for his ordination. The Governor and Council were to meet delegates from several tribes of Indians at that time in Deerfield, and Mr. Sergeant and his flock were requested to repair thither, that he might receive ordination in that place. As we have seen, he was then in Housatonic. The Indians set out on the 18th, but Mr. S. was at that time too sick to leave. His disease was intermittent fever, which all immigrants were obliged to pass through. Mr. Woodbridge was also seized about the same time, and compelled to suspend his labors until November, spending several weeks of the time in West Springfield with his friends.

August 25, the Governor, and a large Committee from the Council and House of Representatives arrived, and the week was spent in forming a treaty, ratifying the peace and friendship which existed, and exchanging pledges. On the evening of Friday, the 29th, Mr. Sergeant reached Deerfield, and the morning of the Sabbath, August 31, was set apart for the services of the Ordination. The

neighboring ministers attended, the usual congregation worshipping in the church assembled; many of the Indian delegates were grave spectators of the scene; the Governor and Council were in their places, and the Housatonic Indians, seated by themselves, completed the motley and interesting group.

As an introduction to the Ordination, the Rev. William Williams, of Hatfield, addressed the Governor, noticing the goodness of God in leading British christians to seek the salvation of the heathen; the submitting of this work to the direction of an honorable Corporation there; the appointment by them of a body of Commissioners here, at the head of which was his Excellency, to act as their agents in this cause, and their having found a suitable person to instruct the Housatonic Indians according to their own desire, and he "humbly asked if it were his Excellency's pleasure that the Pastors then convened should proceed to set him apart for that work."—To which the Governor manifested his approbation.

Mr. Williams then observed to Mr. Sergeant, that he understood his Excellency, in the name of the Commissioners, to desire him to take upon himself the Ministry and service of a Missionary to the Housatonic Indians, and he asked if he were willing to devote himself to that work? Mr. Sergeant gave his assent, and the ordination services were performed.

After the Fellowship of the Elders had been given, Rev. Dr. Williams, of Longmeadow, asked the Indians, through an interpreter, if they were willing to receive Mr. Sergeant, thus solemnly set apart to the work of teacher, among them. The Indians signified their assent by rising. The Sermon was preached by Mr. Appleton of Cambridge, and was published not long afterwards.

The Indians were greatly rejoiced that they had now a settled Pastor, who could not only break to them the bread of life, but administer to them the Gospel ordinances; and they were delighted too with Governor Belcher, who treated them at all times with great kindness, and even tenderness. Mr. Sergeant went from Deerfield to New Jersey, to visit his friends, and returned to Housatonic by way of New Haven, bringing with him the son of Captain Konkapot.

SECTION XI.

FIRST SPIRITUAL HARVEST IN HOUSATONIC.

OCTOBER 26, Mr. Sergeant commenced his labors as *ordained pastor*, and was received with great satisfaction by the Indians. He proposed baptism to Capt. Konkapot and his family, and visited him at his house during the week to prepare him for the solemnity. No church meeting need be called for the examination of the candidates, since Ebenezer Poopoonah, the interpreter, constituted *The Church*, and accordingly on Lord's Day, November 2, Capt. Konkapot was baptized by the name of John, his wife by the name of Mary, and his eldest daughter by the name of Catharine. The ceremony was of course performed in Barrington, and as the weather was unfavorable, the younger children could not go down. But a large audience, both of whites, and of Indians, witnessed the ceremony, and a deep sense of the solemnity of the act seemed to rest upon the minds of the candidates.

The next pastoral labor of Mr. Sergeant was an unusual one. Ebenezer Poopoonah was now a christian *man*; he wished also to be a christian *husband*; and having been duly published according to the laws of the Colony; he and his *wife* were married in the English, which he considered the christian form, November 7, 1735.

November 9, the son of Ebenezer was baptized, and also the son and other daughters of Capt. Konkapot. Lieut. Umpachenee too, and his wife, presented a request for baptism on the next Sabbath. They met Mr Sergeant at his lodgings in the evening, and received very direct and particular instructions preparatory thereto; and often afterwards the Lieutenant referred to that evening as the time when the truth fully entered his understanding and his heart. November 16, they were baptized by the names of Aaron and Hannah; and at the same time the sister of Hannah, and the wife of Ebenezer professed their faith. Lieut. Umpachenee and wife also brought their children to receive the ordinance. It was a solemn scene. The Indians generally seemed more interested than ever before,

and the exercises were renewed in the evening, and at the desire of the audience continued until a late hour. They could never, they thought, tire of hearing the good, and the great things of the kingdom.

These Sabbath evening Lectures were continued after this for several weeks, and the Spirit of God was evidently present to bless. November 23, W-naum-pee and wife, Toh-toh-kuk-hoo-naut, brother of Lieut. Umpachenee, and some others, professed their faith in Christ, and the children of W-naum-pee were baptized upon the faith of their parents. In all eleven persons received the ordinance.

On Saturday, November 29, a Susquehannah Indian arrived at Housatonic, who remained about a month, listening attentively to the word of God, and evidently delighted with what he heard. He had been a vicious, drunken fellow ; but having heard something of the true religion, he had entirely reformed, and like many Housatonic Indians, had adopted the system of total abstinence. His name was Un-na-qua-nut.

Dec. 7, nine more persons were baptized, and Dec. 14, Naw-naw-ne-ke-nuk, one of the principal men, "a good tempered, talented, honest, kind, and faithful citizen," was added to the number. His new name seems to have been David.

It was about this time that the Indians passed a resolution "to have no trading in rum," a purpose to which Mr. Sergeant says, they steadily adhered. The time had come too to hold the Kentikaw, or dance, which should close the mourning for those supposed to have been poisoned at the great council ; and lest they might err again through a want of understanding, they asked Mr. Sergeant's advice, distinctly explaining to him the nature and design of the ceremony. He told them that he saw no harm in it ; and so far indulged their innocent national feelings as to be present upon the occasion. In accordance with their Temperance Pledge, no spirituous liquors were furnished, and their friends, when invited, were requested not to bring any with them. Un-na-qua-nut was one of the guests, and left two bright boys in the school, one of whom, Mr. Sergeant remarked, "learned at a prodigious rate." Little spirits was brought, and the sobriety and good behavior of the Housatonic Indians was much noted. The Lieutenant

particularly distinguished himself by his own temperance, and by his exhortations to others. One half of the congregation convened at his house on Sabbath, Jan. 18, consisting of 80 or 90 adults, was composed of the strangers, and they expressed their approbation of the christian religion, and their good wishes for the mission. Some manifested a desire to remove to Housatonic, that they might sit under the droppings of the sanctuary, and two families did remain.

Little more than one year had now elapsed, since the first ray of Gospel light broke upon Housatonic. Then the Indians, "great and small, numbered less than fifty."—At this time forty children attended the school, and several adults were learning to read. Many had professed their faith in the Savior, and brought their little ones to receive the sign of the covenant—in all, forty persons. Heathen customs were renounced, and a stand had been taken in the cause of Temperance which might well put to the blush communities of nominal Christians. Indeed the Indians were, themselves, surprised at the change, and compared the past and the present to sleeping and waking, darkness and light, &c., and Mr. Sergeant expresses his belief that what was wanting in knowledge, in the Indian Christians, was made up in zeal and integrity.

Nor was this all; the blessing was not confined to Housatonic. The leaven was permeating the whole lump.—The River, or Muh-he-ka-necw Tribe, in the various settlements, were taking knowledge of the Housatonics, that that they had been with Jesus, and were giving glory to the Most High; and to the present day, the history of the Housatonic Mission, rightly written, is a Hymn of Praise.



SECTION XII.

REMOVAL TO STOCKBRIDGE.

HITHERTO the History of the Housatonic Mission has been the History, not of Stockbridge only, but also of Barrington and Sheffield. From the year 1735, however,

it is mostly confined to Stockbridge alone; and each department of labor, or class of facts, will be more distinctly seen by the reader, and more readily referred to by the antiquarian, if we drop, for a few years, the consecutive manner of recording events, and give to each class its own section. And first—

The Incorporation and Settlement of Stockbridge.

The necessity of suspending labor, to a great degree, through the warm season, that the Indians might cultivate their own lands, was, it will be seen, a great bar to improvement, and it was thought that could an exchange be made, so that all might hold lands, in the same vicinity, others of the tribe would be gathered in, and much good be accomplished. This had indeed been the design from the first, and Col. Stoddard, in his letter to the Indians met in council, Jan. 1735, informed them of it, hoping that the great meadow north of the Mountain, would be obtained for them. Gov. Belcher, too, proposed it to them at Deerfield, and pledged his influence in their behalf with the Legislature, at its fall session. This pledge he faithfully redeemed, and sent to Mr. Sergeant the following result :

“ Col. Stoddard, Maj. Pomroy and Mr. Justice Ingersole are appointed by the General Court, to weigh and consider all things and circumstances so as to accommodate my Children at Housatunnuk with land in the best manner. I agree with you that some English families—if such can be found as you mention—be interspersed and settled among the Indians; for to civilize, will be the readiest way to christianize them.”

Feb. 10, Maj. Pomeroy and Mr. Ingersoll arrived, and the next day met the Indians and read to them the Act of Legislature which appointed them its agents, stated that the sickness of his mother had prevented the attendance of Col. Stoddard, and assured them of the good intentions of the Government, adding—“ Therefore tell us what will suit, that we may inform the General Court, who will gladly do you good.”

They next asked them if they had a mind to live together? and they answered, “ Yes,” and should be very thankful if they might be accommodated for that purpose. They were then asked whether the interval land above the mountain

would suit them? and answered "Very well." And whether they were willing to part with their land in Ska-te-hook for an equivalent above? "Yes." Were they willing that lots should be reserved for the minister and teacher? "*Yes, by all means.*" The meeting then adjourned until the 18th.

The next thing to be done was to negotiate with the English and Dutch who had settled in W-nahk-ta-kook, or the Great Meadow, and obtain the whole for the Indians. Only two or three objected to the proposals of the committee, and those agreed to take their offers into consideration.

On the 18th the Indians again met, received the report of the committee, returned their thanks for what had been done, and only requested to be settled before the time to commence planting. The report was laid before the Legislature, and a Township six miles square, comprising W-nahk-tu-kook was given to the Indians, and the same committee were directed to complete the business, reserving one-sixth of the land for Mr. Sergeant, one-sixth for Mr. Woodbridge, and "accommodating four other families with such a part as they should see fit." "It was at Mr. Sergeant's request that these families were admitted, not for the comfort of their society only, but especially to civilize and anglicize the Indians, and to be a help to them in their secular affairs. Families well adapted to answer those ends were to be chosen, and by Col. Stoddard's approbation—who was a good judge—they were to be admitted."

April 20th, the Committee again repaired to Housatonic; but all was not ready, as they expected to find it, on the part of the Indians. Designing whites were constantly telling them that the government only wished to get them more completely under their control, that they might enslave both them and their children; and the poor Indian, ever tenacious of his liberty, knew not which to believe. When therefore the subject was opened at the council, a very interesting discussion took place. Lieut. Umpachenee first expressed to the committee his deep sense of his former unhappy life, the miserable condition of his people, and the kindness of the English in what had been done, which all touched his heart most tenderly. He hoped that his eyes were now open to see the excellency of the christian religion, regretted that he had not lived always under its

influence ; hoped that his children would enjoy the blessings of which he now deplored his own want, and that the whole tribe would ere long be brought into the way in which the Housatonics had begun to walk,—yet he frankly owned that still there were difficulties which he could not satisfactorily solve. Three or four things, in *his* eyes, looked dark. Why had they been neglected so long ? What was the secret spring which had so suddenly brought them into favor ? Why did Maj. Pomeroy ask them so many questions about the owners of certain lands, and the nature and origin of their titles to them ? And *why ? why*, if the christian religion was so true and good, what he esteemed it to be,—why did many of its professors lead such vicious lives ?

In reply, Col. Stoddard gave them an account of the design of the planters of the Massachusetts Colony, particularly that clause in the Charter running thus :—“ To win and to incite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Savior of mankind, and the christian faith, is in our Royal intention, and the adventurers free profession, the principal end of the plantation.” He told them of the labors and success of the Mayhews, and of Eliot ; the readiness of the government to engage in the work whenever, and wherever the field was open, and of the promptness with which they had responded to the wish of Capt. Konkapot, and he assured them that whatever others might say, *their* good, and that only, was the spring of all that had been done. As to the questions of Maj. Pomeroy, they were asked merely to gratify personal curiosity in regard to their laws and customs. But to the third difficulty Col. Stoddard could only answer—that it was *true*, and a *shame* to the *depraved heart of man*, but not to the rules of the *Gospel* which they professed, but *disobeyed*.

The Lieutenant still asked anxiously if there was not danger, since the land was in a great measure given them, that the children of the whites might look upon their children as objects of charity, and inferior to themselves. Would their titles be such as to secure them from abuse ? and could the freedom of their children be made sure ?

Col. S. replied that their titles would be the same as those of the whites ; that they would enjoy not only the protection of the same laws as they, but of laws made ex-

pressly for the good of the Indian, and that if at any time dissatisfied, they would be at full liberty to remove.

All objections were thus answered, the Indians expressed their great satisfaction, the Lieutenant declared himself so deeply impressed with the excellency of the christian faith that he could cheerfully die for it, and after some general religious conversation, the meeting was dismissed.

But the difficulties remained with regard to the two or three Dutchmen who had settled above the mountain, and great trouble was submitted to, both by Mr. Sergeant and by the committee, before they could be induced to remove. Indeed, Van Valkenburgh did not yield until many months afterwards, when he was compelled to sell for want of funds. Some gentlemen then bought him out and gave the land to the Indians, an equivalent of unappropriated lands being given *them* below the mountain.

Monday, April 26, the committee again met the Indians, reported proceedings, showed them a plan of the township, inquired if they would make any alterations, and received their entire approbation, and warm expressions of gratitude.

Early in May the Indians all moved in, increased by two families. They engaged industriously in the cultivation of their land; the school was large; the missionaries were laborious, and all went on prosperously.

Two of the English families selected,—those of Col. Ephraim Williams from Newton, and Josiah Jones from Weston, moved to Stockbridge, as it is now called, early in June of 1737. Ephraim Brown, (soon succeeded by his cousin Dea. Samuel Brown of Watertown,) and Joseph Woodbridge, brother of the teacher, came still later. The Town was incorporated in 1739, and *named*; doubtless, from Stockbridge in England, which it strikingly resembles; and the next year the lands were apportioned to the Indians by Col. Stoddard and Col. Williams, to their entire satisfaction.

SECTION XIII.

VISIT TO BOSTON IN 1736.

JULY 11, 1736, Gov. Belcher wrote to Mr. Sergeant—"I desire you to greet my Children at Housatonic in the kindest manner from me, and let them know that I shall be heartily glad to see them at Boston, with Corstar, their Chief Sachem. I hope to see you with your people, &c."

Accordingly Mr. Sergeant, and a number of the Stockbridge Indians with as many more from the Hudson, visited Boston, and August 5th, waited upon the Governor and Council. The Lieutenant made a speech in the name of the others, returning thanks for favors received ; and in token of gratitude he presented to the government one mile of land on each side of the road from Housatonic to Westfield, —in all, 52 square miles. He also asked assistance from the Legislature in the erection of a church and school-house.

The answer of Gov. Belcher was such as might be expected from *him*, and he engaged to lay their request before the general Court at its next session. A present of skins was then brought forward, and presented to the Governor. These he ordered to be sold, and the avails expended in books for Mr. Sergeant's Library.

August 6th, Mr. Sergeant and his flock dined with the Governor and Council. They were courteously treated, and the Indians received presents of guns, blankets, &c. and returned home highly delighted with their new friends.



SECTION XIV.

CHURCH, SCHOOL-HOUSE, &c.

THE Governor kept faithfully the promise made to his children while in Boston, and upon his suggestion, the General Assembly granted funds for the erection of a Church

40 feet by 30, together with a suitable School-House ; and appointed Col. Stoddard, Mr. Sergeant, and Mr. Woodbridge a Committee to see the whole accomplished.

The Church was accordingly commenced on the green, a few rods north-east of the site of the present South Church. It appears to have had three doors ; one on each end, and one on the south side ; pews against the wall, and only two aisles ; it was of two stories, and, as evidence of its firmness,—the frame is still used in a barn several rods west of its original location. Little is remembered of its construction, but votes to *repair* make that little intelligible. Owing to some unavoidable delays, it was not so far completed as to admit worshipers before Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 29, 1739, when it was first opened for religious service.

The Sabbath service consisted of a short prayer for the blessing of God, offered in both languages ; a portion of Scripture in both, with explanations and observations ; prayers also, both in Indian and English ; singing, in which the Indians excelled, and the Sermons, two each Sabbath to the English, and two to the Indians ; except that, during the winter, one sermon to the English was omitted. To all these labors of Mr. Sergeant he added, during the warm season, an hour of familiar instruction to the Indians. In his Indian readings he went through with such parts of the Bible as enabled him to give a continuous history of the work of creation, providence and redemption. In his discourses to the English, he gave a labored and learned paraphrase of the Epistles, which Mr. Woodbridge regretted could not be published.

The people of Boston presented to the Stockbridge Church a Conch Shell just brought in from the East Indies, at the sound of which the congregation was gathered for worship. At the town meeting in 1760 it was voted, to take up one contribution from the whites, and another from the Indians, to pay David Nau-nau-nee-ka-nuk for his services in sweeping the house and blowing the Conch ; and similar votes were passed in other years. It seems always to have been blown by an Indian, and perhaps it is from this circumstance, the report has gone abroad that it was of such immense size no ordinary man could lift it. It is also said to have “ mysteriously disappeared, and not been heard

from for many years." The Shell—less than a foot in length—but of sufficient "strength of lungs" to be heard from the center of the town to its circumference in every direction, was given, accompanied by a belt of wampum, to Capt, Josiah Jones, son of the missionary of that name, when the Indians left for New Stockbridge. The wampum was carried off by Shays' Men when they plundered Stockbridge in 1787 ; but the Conch was inherited by the son of Capt. Jones who bore his name and became owner of the government grant. In 1834 it fell into the hands of a *female* member of the family residing upon the old "settle lot," where it is still to be seen and *heard*. But having thus been taken from its useful, yet dangerous employment, that of a farmer's dinner-horn, and deposited among relics, it *has* in a measure disappeared. "Oh for a tongue in those lips of thine !" was the wish of the poet. "'Twas *done* as soon as said ;" and though oftener seen than heard, as woman, and woman's should ever be, still, pleasant memories of the red man are constantly trembling upon its well worn lip for those who love the Indian Race.

Dr. Francis Ayscough of London, Clerk of the Closet, and first Chaplain to the Prince of Wales, also presented the congregation with the Scriptures in two large folio volumes, elegantly gilt, and adorned with plates, and his book-binder took the liberty of adding a third volume in the same style, containing the Apocryphal books. Upon a fly-leaf of the Bibles was written "Presented by Dr. Ayscough to Rev. John Sergeant, Missionary to the Stockbridge Indians in that vast wilderness called New England."

The catholic spirit of Dr. Ayscough may be seen in his reply to Capt. Coram, who having recommended the mission to his patronage, thought it his duty to say that Mr. Sergeant was a dissenter.

"What if he be a dissenter?" says Dr. A., "he is a good man, and that is every thing. It is time those distinctions should be *laid aside*, and not *make* them where there is none, and the partition wall thrown down ; that *christians* might love one another. I love all good men alike, let them be Churchmen or Dissenters."

These Bibles were used in the church at New Stockbridge as well as here, and one incident at least of their history

will come under a future head. They are still in the possession of the Indians.

In 1761, the two end doors of the church were shut, windows being left ; and two new pews were built in the places thus left vacant. An aisle was cut through the center of the house, and the body-seats so altered as to make five in the place of four. Two pews were also built over the stairs, the house newly clapboarded in front, and new windows set in that—the south—side. The windows on each end were newly glazed, and the old clapboards and glass were employed in repairs upon the north side. Besides this, the plastering and the seats in the gallery were mended. In this state, the building was used until the close of the Revolutionary War, when what is now called “The old Meeting House” was erected.

The first school-house in Stockbridge was built by the Indians on the east side of the Barrington road, a little north of Konkapot Brook, and, of course, near the dwelling of Capt. Konkapot. It was rude, and covered with bark. That built by Government stood opposite the house of Van Valkenburgh, but was afterwards, it appears, drawn out of the village to the west, and used by the Indians, after their separation, as a house of worship. To it was then removed the seat of Deacon Pau-quau-nau-peet, cut from a solid log. The road then ran directly toward the house built by Mr. John Sergeant, the *son*, and now owned by Mr. T. Wells ; and the school-house was passed, on the right hand, immediately after crossing the bridge.

After 1736, when the number of scholars had risen to forty, there was no indication of any great increase. In 1749, the number of scholars was fifty-five, though only about forty were present at one time. The education received was the same as that received by white children in common schools at that day. A writer in the Boston Post Boy, under date of Sept. 3, 1739, says, “I have lately visited my friends in Stockbridge, and was well pleased to find the Indians so improved. I saw several young women sewing, but I was in special gratified to find them improved in learning. Several of them have made good proficiency, and can read in their Bibles, and some can write a good hand.”

After Mr. Woodbridge, Mr. John Sergeant, Jr., took

charge of the school for several years. The whites seem to have attended with the Indians until 1760, when a separate school was set up for them.



SECTION XV.

GENERAL PROGRESS OF THE MISSION FROM FEBRUARY 1736,
TO AUGUST 1739.

The general prosperity of the Mission has been traced down to the winter of 1736, and at this place we will again take up the thread of its history. It was at this time that Mr. Sergeant, having composed prayers in the Indian language, began, at their desire, to pray without an interpreter. He had also translated some prayers for *them*.

When the Indians went to the woods this year at the sugar season, Mr. Sergeant and Mr. Woodbridge accompanied them, and in that way greatly increased the opportunities of doing good, and of gaining their language. Night and morning, Mr. Sergeant says, he led their devotions, and when the labors of the day were over, taught the Indians to sing. His bed consisted of a deerskin spread upon boughs of the spruce, and three blankets for his covering. Their diet was low, but cleanly, and well cooked by the wives of Konkapot and Umpachenee.— Their drink was cold water. Mr. Sergeant spent a part of the time at W-nahk-tu-kook, and a part at Ska-te-hook ; changing places with Mr. Woodbridge.

After the removal of the Indians to Stockbridge in 1736, Mr. Woodbridge boarded with Capt. Konkapot until November, when he was married to Miss Abigail Day of West Springfield, and brought her to Stockbridge. They built first near the corner opposite the house of Mr. Stephen W. Jones, but not long afterwards on the site occupied by Mr. Samuel Goodrich. Mr. Sergeant still boarded in Barrington until Mr. Woodbridge had a shelter of his own, and then shared it with him.

June 12th, a messenger came from the Hudson to call the Stockbridge Indians to a council, one of their tribe having been guilty of a murder. Capt. Konkapot, and Lieut.

Umpachenee, while there, devoted their time almost wholly to the proclamation of the gospel, and a blessing seemed to attend their labors. None objected, and several engaged to remove with their families to Stockbridge.

June 27, having baptized a child, Mr. Sergeant observes in his journal, "the number of resident Indians is now ninety, and the number of baptized persons fifty-two."

During the spring of 1737, the Indians returned regularly from the sugar camp to spend the Sabbath at home. Mr. Sergeant about this time translated a marriage ceremony into the Indian language, and Nau-ku-che-wat and Wau-woo-ne-meen were published according to English law, and married in christian form.

Generally the Indians had become temperate, and any excess in individuals was deplored by the community.—But they had a sore trial to endure continually. Van Valkenburg not only refused to sell the farm which Capt. Konkapot had given him, but, still more ungrateful, kept a store of rum on hand which he sold and gave away to all who would drink. At what time he was compelled by poverty to accept the offer of the friends of the Indian, is not known; but he had gone at the time the correspondent of the Boston Post Boy visited Stockbridge; and both missionary and church members possessed a large share of christian grace if they did not rejoice over the fall of their enemy.

August 7th, 1737, Mr. Sergeant preached without an interpreter, and in course of time learned to speak their language, the Indians thought, more perfectly than a native. But this was a difficult task. He studied diligently nearly two years before he could pray in the Indian tongue, and then for two years longer he was obliged to keep an interpreter two days in the week to perfect his Indian sermons.

August 21st, Yokun, probably the chief of that name, his wife, and three children were baptized; and September 14th, Pmaw-pau-soo also, son of Um-pau-mut, Chief of an island in the Hudson, Nom-shoos, a Shawanoo, and Ukihih-nau-we-qun, another youth; having been carefully instructed previous to their reception of the rite.

And here it may be remarked that Mr. Sergeant admitted members upon the Stoddardean, or "Half way Cove-

nant plan, the common practice of churches at that day, and perhaps all who were baptized upon their own faith had not experienced a change of heart. They had, they believed, set their faces Zionward, and were anxious to receive in their foreheads the seal of the covenant, that every known duty might be performed, and that they might be recognized as enlisted soldiers of the cross. This fact, together with the sore *temptations* to that sin which so easily besets those once its victims, that the Indian has ever been called to endure from unprincipled whites, should not be forgotten when we read of suspensions and excommunications for intemperance. Besides, the Indians had been trained to intemperance from generation to generation, with all the zeal which love of gold could inspire, until this second nature had completely overpowered the first, and the relish for strong drink was scarcely less than that for food. Never, surely, should one who must own a "pale face" speak of the Indian as *the* guilty party in this matter. Woe to the dry tree when the Lord visits for iniquity. Which is worse—to do our *own* sinning, and bear the consequences *ourselves*,—or to draw the unwary into the snare, and while *we* seek to escape all ill, make sure *his* temporal and eternal doom?

In 1738 the Indians received a present from the Society of £300, which was laid out for them from time to time as they needed, the first payment being made in agricultural implements.

June 19th, of the same year, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered for the first time. Eleven Indian communicants were present, and, says Mr. S., "attended the ordinance with as much seriousness, and apparent devotion, as ever I observed in any people upon any occasion whatever."

In September, 1738, the church numbered fourteen members, and nearly fifty had been baptized. "The children," an English visitor remarks, were "in general as mannerly as the whites of most country towns." Several Indians had built houses in the English style; their farms were well fenced, and in a measure stocked, and many of the owners were diligent and industrious in business." The marriage of Mr. Sergeant, August 16th, 1739, to Miss Abigail Williams, daughter of Col. Ephraim Williams, was

particularly gratifying to his people. Ninety Indians attended the wedding, and demeaned themselves with great gravity and propriety.

This was the year in which the church was opened; and another important movement was made about the same time. The Indians, at the suggestion of the missionaries, laid a penalty of £40, York money, upon any person who should bring rum into Stockbridge for sale; and Inn-keepers in the vicinity were remonstrated with upon the sin of selling spirits to Indians inclined to excessive drinking. But this the evil disposed endeavored to turn to the harm of the poor Indians, telling them the missionaries infringed upon their liberties, that they were used worse than dogs and slaves, and would soon be reduced openly to bondage. Their efforts succeeded in leading some to great excesses, by way of *testing the length of their chain*, and New Year's Day being at hand, Mr. S. was filled with anxiety, knowing that every temptation would be spread before them at that time which example, precept, and false liberality could frame. December 30th, he preached as usual, and proposed to hold religious services on Tuesday, January 1st, hoping to draw *some* from the frolick which he expected was in contemplation, in imitation of the Dutch. The day arrived, an abundance of rum was brought into town, but the Indians were universally in their places at church, and no drinking was indulged in.

In January, 1747, Mr. Sergeant says, "The Indian youth learn English well; most of them understand a good deal of it, and some speak it freely and correctly." The natives then owned seventeen English houses, fifteen of which had been built by themselves, and at their own cost, and some of them were comfortably furnished; and this notwithstanding the great difficulty in procuring materials. The number of settled families was fifty, and the greater part of them had been baptized. Thirty-five were members of the church, eight or nine had died from the communion, "with a good christian temper and a well grounded hope," and others, not in communion, had appeared to die in the faith. Five or six were at that time temporarily suspended; but Mr. S. hoped for their recovery. After his last sickness commenced, Mr. Sergeant preached once, deeply deploring the stupidity of his church; and no revi-

val seems to have been enjoyed from 1742 and 3, until after his death. At the time of that event, the number of Indians was two hundred and eighteen; one hundred and eighty-two had been baptized, and the church contained forty-two native communicants, viz: eighteen males and twenty-four females: one hundred and twenty-nine of the baptized persons were still living. The two hundred and eighteen individuals constituted fifty-three families, and twenty of these owned English houses, and the English style was in some measure extended to out-buildings.



SECTION XVI.

OUT-LABORS OF MR. SERGEANT.

The labors of Mr. Sergeant in other places, are so connected with the history of Stockbridge that they may not be omitted.

September 11th, he preached by appointment at Kauna-meek, six miles from New Lebanon. The Indians there had invited their neighbors, and about thirty adults attended. The Stockbridges who accompanied Mr. Sergeant on this visit, were faithful in their mission, and favorable results soon followed. Au-nau-wau-neckh-heek, the Chief, brought his only child, a daughter, to be educated soon after, came repeatedly himself, and, with his child, was baptized in January, 1738.

Wau-taun-ku-meet removed to Stockbridge to receive instruction soon after the visit of Mr. S., and was baptized, together with his two children, in the spring of 1738.

In 1739, the out-labors of Mr. Sergeant were very much increased. The Indians from the river wished for the Gospel, and others came to hear, or to ask for a visit from the missionary. Danbury, Ct., and the Highlands, are particularly mentioned as the residences of applicants, and July 1st, seventeen strangers were present from Wukh-quau-te-nauk, a place in Connecticut, twenty-eight miles below Stockbridge, to hear the message from God.

But a more full account must be given of a mission undertaken by Mr. Sergeant and some of his people at their

own expense in May and June of 1741. It was to the Shawanoos on the Susquehannah, and to the Delawares, the distance of the first from Stockbridge being two hundred and twenty miles. The Message sent to their younger brother at Susquehannah by the Stockbridges, is beautiful, and their answer truly characteristic; both worthy to be given entire.

[FROM STOCKBRIDGE.]

"Brother, who have seen so many mornings here at Mukh-hau-wan-meek, you live in friendship with our Grandfather; our League reaches as far as the great Island, and the River Au-wuk-saun tu-guh. The reason of my coming is, because I dislike our way of living; our Father above does not approve of it; we weary out his Patience.

"You always stand in the presence of our Father, and he would have his children turn about to him. I am come to turn you to him. If you pity your body and soul you will receive the *Christian Religion*. It is always the privilege of an elder brother to teach his younger brother if he knows anything that is good. If his brother be lost, he will tell him—*'This is the way to life.'*

"The enlightening of the eyes is in the christian religion. You will sometime come to know that we have been lost — You will see what it is to live in *heathenism* if your eyes are opened. In the end of the world you will see a good prepared if you embrace the christian religion in truth; and if you believe it not, you will see a punishment provided. Formerly our forefathers used to send messages one to another; but their speeches were nothing. They were wont in the conclusion of their speeches to say: 'now I see the sun at noon, you shall always see clearly; you shall see nothing amiss.' But these things which they spake in darkness were nothing. The only true light which enlightens the eyes is the *Christian Religion*.

"Brother, this is our Teacher; we have brought him with us, thinking perhaps he may open your eyes a little that you may see the way to Eternal Life. We wish you would hear him. He is our Elder Brother. This Message your Brother at Mau he-kun sends you: he likes the *Christian Religion*."

When this message had been delivered to the Shawanoos, they retired for a little time, and on returning presented the following reply:

"It is true we have one Father above, and we are always in his presence. The Indians have one way of honoring and pleasing him, and the White people have another; both are acceptable to him. I am glad to hear from my Brother, and

to cultivate friendship with him. He shall always find me here if he has any message to send ; but *Christianity* need not be a bond of union between us. As for your Teacher, I cannot understand him. If I could *understand* him, it might be well to hear him ; but he speaks in an *unknown tongue*."

Evidently their minds were fixed ; yet Mr. Sergeant sought still farther to reason with them. They listened for a time, but were too deeply prejudiced both by the teachings of papists, and by the lives of nominal christians, to open their minds to conviction, and he left them discouraged.

Better success awaited him at Delaware. The Indians in that region understood the Muh-he-ka-neew language, and seemed desirous of instruction ; and Mr. Sergeant engaged some gentlemen—if the thing was found to be practicable—to obtain lands for them where they might live contiguously, in which case he hoped that a mission among them might, by the blessing of God, yield much fruit.

Before leaving home, Mr. Sergeant had sent to Mr. Pemberton at New York, for the Society in Scotland, a history of the progress made by the Gospel among the Indians ; and as Mr. Pemberton the next year selected Mr. Brainard to labor as missionary among the Delawares, we may perhaps find the sequel of the mission from Stockbridge in the life of that devoted man. (Also under Appendix D.)

The Nimham family, afterwards distinguished for their virtues, came to Stockbridge from the region last visited ; and it was about the time of this mission that the Nanticoke Indians, "from the south of Stockbridge," joined the settlement.

The way not being open for Brainard to commence his labors among the Delawares, he was sent in the spring of 1743 to Kaunameek. He came to Stockbridge on his way, and took from here an interpreter, for whom he obtained the commission of teacher to the youth of his flock. He also studied the language with Mr. Sergeant afterwards, which brought him frequently to Stockbridge. After one year, however, he persuaded his flock to remove to this place, and entered upon his labors at the south, among the Delawares.

Some remains of the little hut built by Brainard at

Kaunameck are still to be seen, and a pine is growing up in the center of what was once his only room. The bridge near by, called "Brainard's Bridge," was named for one in no way connected with the missionary; but it is, to his far greater honor, almost universally ascribed to *him*, as if the *world* had never produced more than *one* BRAINARD.



SECTION XVII.

HOLLIS SCHOOL.

In 1732, Rev. Isaac Hollis, of London, nephew to Thomas Hollis Esq., patron of Harvard College, urged Dr. Colman of Boston to receive from him £20 sterling per annum forever, to be expended upon a fourth missionary in New England. But so little was the good which had resulted from the labors of those already in the field, that Dr. Colman declined the offer, and advised Mr. Hollis to expend the sum in New Jersey; a suggestion with which he did not comply. In 1735, however, Dr. Colman became so confident of the success of the Housatonic mission, that he wrote to accept the offer, and was answered that Mr. Hollis would support entirely twenty Stockbridge Indians. The expense was calculated, and found to be £500 a year; and presuming that this was more than Mr. Hollis had anticipated, Dr. Colman wrote to him for further orders, and received another promise to support twelve, at a cost of £25 each, New England currency. The funds for the first year were sent in the spring of 1737; but the house of Mr. Woodbridge was too small for their accommodation, and Mr. Sergeant delayed opening the school until he had built, which he did that summer. His house-keeper seems to have been Ween-kees-quoh.

January 11th, 1738, the twelve boys were received, and Mr. Sergeant taught them himself for one year. But finding the labor too great, he afterwards prevailed upon several of the boys to go from Stockbridge, and reside with gentlemen who would devote attention to their improve-

ment. Those who would not consent to leave home, boarded with their parents and attended the school of Mr. Woodbridge, receiving only their clothing from the bounty of Mr. Hollis. The interpreter employed by Mr. Brainard was one of those boarded out, and was taught by Dr. S. Williams of Longmeadow. His name was John Wau-waum-pe-quun-naunt.

In 1741, Mr. Sergeant ventured to propose the establishment of a boarding school—for boys at first, but afterwards to be extended to girls. Samuel Holden Esq. of London, had presented £100 to the mission soon after the donations of Mr. Hollis commenced, and an attempt had been made to employ it in the education of girls in families abroad; but the girls were discontented, and returned. Since that time a stronger desire for instruction had overcome the natural feelings, and the girls were begging for a new trial, offering to support themselves by their own labor; and two had been sent to Northampton for that purpose. Mr. Holden's charities had continued until his death, and his widow and daughters inherited, with his gold, his interest in the Muh-he-ke-neew, and Mr. Sergeant believed this plan to be in accordance with the desires of Mr. Hollis. He thought too, that the minds of the *parents* were prepared to enter into the plan free from the suspicions of bondage which had so long enchained them.

Mr. Hollis did engage warmly in the enterprise, and ordered twelve boys to be taken on his account; and the Indians were delighted with it. Dr. Colman declining to draw up a definite plan, Mr. Sergeant proposed the union of a farm and school, with two teachers; the farm to consist of two hundred acres, taken from the unappropriated lands, of which the Indians were the proprietors. The pupils were to be between the ages of ten and twenty; and the boys were here to be trained to farming, and the girls to housekeeping; in short, it was to be a male and female manual labor school.

Col. John Stoddard, Col. Eleazer Porter, Maj. Israel Williams, and Oliver Partridge Esqs., and Rev. Jonathan Edwards, and Rev. Dr. Williams, were chosen as trustees to receive and disburse the funds which might be collected. Dr. Colman took great pains to circulate copies of the

plan,—printing, and sending them to the Presidents of the colleges, to Dr. Watts, Dr. Wilson, and other clergymen in England, as well as to Madam Holden, Capt. Coram, &c. Also to Governor Shirley, Lieut. Governor Phipps, to the governors and ministers in Connecticut, and to various persons holding stations of influence in Massachusetts. Mr. Sergeant thought that £200 would be needed at first, but hoped that the school would eventually support itself.

The English inhabitants of Stockbridge raised a subscription on Thanksgiving Day of £115 10s, the number of subscribers being ten; eight residents and two strangers. The names of the residents, besides the six missionaries, must be taken from those of David Pixley from Westfield, John Willard from Canaan, formerly of Westfield, John Taylor from West Springfield, and Col. E. Williams jun. Of the liberality of Stockbridge people Mr. Hopkins remarks—"It must be granted that they discovered a very noble and generous spirit. Had the people through the country given one-tenth part so much, in proportion to their number and abilities, that school, and another for females, might have been set up, and well supported. And had we in general, in this land, such just and affecting views of the deplorable state of the Indians as the people at Stockbridge have, whose eyes affect their hearts, I doubt not but many thousands would have cheerfully given to forward that noble and pious design—the best, I think, that has ever been projected." The Indians too, were willing, not only to give the land, and that which was good, but also to aid in the erection of the building.

But in the country at large, little was done. A *few* were much engaged, and after the great efforts of Dr. Colman had been put forth, *four* names were obtained upon the subscription list, never, however, honored by payments! Doubtless *friends* sent in *their* contributions, but their patience was almost exhausted by the backwardness of those to whom they applied, and Mr. Hollis was justly astonished that "a people of such a name for religion" should be so backward to promote it at their own doors. But when we look *across the sea* the prospect brightens, and we discover a just cause for whatever of *toryism* was found in *Stockbridge* in the days of the Revolution.

The Corporation expressed a readiness to furnish aid to

the enterprise; Mr. Hollis insisted once and again that his twelve boys, taken from heathen families, should receive an education under the care of the mission; elsewhere, if the exposed state of Stockbridge during the war then raging prevented their being located here. Mrs. Holden gave £100, and Dr. Watts took up a collection among a few friends, and sent over £70.

But Capt. Coram *took hold* of the work like a true soldier, though he was too easily brow-beaten for a time. He had served in New England, and knew of what he affirmed. The printed proposal of Mr. Sergeant, together with Dr. Colman's remarks, he prepared to be circulated as a subscription paper, and presented to those of great wealth and influence with whom he was conversant. Many commended the effort, and only waited to see other names at the head, before they subscribed largely. This promise was very distinctly made by one lady and gentleman of great means, and Capt. Coram resolved to obtain a name at the head with which all would gladly unite. Accordingly he drew up a petition to the Prince of Wales, and presented it through Dr. Ayscough, the donor, soon after this, of the Bible. His Royal Highness cheerfully set down his name, and paid twenty guineas. Next it was presented to the Duke of Cumberland, brother to the Prince, with a request for ten guineas. But he answered that it would be shameful to give so small a sum for so good a purpose, and subscribed twenty. The Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Dorset, and the Lord Gower, gave each five guineas. And now Capt. Coram thought that surely the lady and gentleman who had promised so fairly would be ready to add their names. But upon presenting the paper to them again, he was so rudely reproached and repulsed—for the catholic spirit he had manifested, it would seem—that he sat down in despair. To increase his chagrin, the kind and sympathetic reply of Mr. Sergeant to his letter, a letter of thanks to Dr. Ayscough, and another which he wrote to them both, did not reach him, and he felt more bitterly than was true the ingrate character of the world. But all being at length explained on the part of the Stockbridge people, the Captain seemed to gird himself anew, as will soon appear.

The feelings of Mr. Hollis when he found that the war

was delaying his charities, should be given in his own words. "If my money," he says, "lie by till the war ends, it may be a long time indeed. Do you see the least prospect in the world of it? Would you not wish to see the Redeemer's work carried on while you live? I am not willing to have my money of £350, your currency, lying useless till the war is ended. I do herewith appoint that there be, as soon as possible, twelve more heathen boys taken on my account, to be entirely provided for with lodging and maintenance, to be instructed in the christian doctrine. And after I know of this order being complied with, I design to make a large remittance for farther carrying on the work. January 27, 1747."

Again Dr. Colman wrote, August 25, 1747, four days before his own death, transcribing another letter of the like import, and adding that he had received a call from Mr. Wallis of Boston, nephew of Capt. Coram, who read to him a most encouraging letter from his uncle respecting his farther progress at Court, a new school, (probably the girls school,) and also respecting farther benefits to Stockbridge, and the general cause of education here. If Mr. Sergeant ever received a copy of the letter from Capt. Coram, it was lost, and *what* he had accomplished is not now known.

Thus pressed by Mr. Hollis, Mr. Sergeant received of the Indians a farm which lay about a mile west of the church, and the school-house was erected south of the house now occupied by Mr. Thomas Wells. It was thirty-six feet by thirty-eight, had three fire-rooms on one floor, and two rooms without fire, and a good cellar. To increase his means, which were not yet sufficient, Mr. Sergeant wrote to some clergymen in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and on Fast Day about £12 was collected in the second parish in Goshen, and in Lebanon, Connecticut, £49, 1s. was taken up. About the same time—as is believed—Mr. Elery, of Hartford, died, leaving £120 "to the Indians of Stockbridge."

By the 13th of March, 1748, Mr. Sergeant had selected the twelve boys, and obtained for them board and instruction with Capt. Martin Kellog of Newington, Connecticut, where they made good progress for a year. Mr. Hollis desired Capt. K. to pray with the boys night and morning,

and before and after meals, and to endeavor to instill into their minds principles of piety. During the winter, at Mr. Sergeant's request, Capt. K. brought them to Stockbridge for examination, and soon afterward took a house here, where he instructed them until the boarding-school-house was ready for use. Mr. S. designed to have gone with him during the next summer, into New York, in the hope of prevailing upon the Indians of the Six Nations to send their children to the school, but death prevented the accomplishment of farther plans of usefulness. An invitation was, however, accepted by the Mohawks and Oneidas, and in 1750, the number of Mohawks who resided here—parents and children—was not far from ninety, and among them was the noted Chief, Hendrick. Hendrick was born in 1680, and generally resided at the Upper Castle on the Mohawk. His father was a Mohegan, called by his people, "The Wolf." His sister, Molly Brant, became the wife of Sir William Johnson; and it was while serving the British, under the command of that officer, in 1755, that the noble chieftain fell. Nicholas also, another Indian of distinction, came at that time to reside in Stockbridge. Mr. Woodbridge obtained the assistance of Wonwan-on-pe-quun-na-nut, and received into *his* school all the Housatonic youth, leaving the boarding-school to provide alone for the heathen. The Housatonics generously offered land to the Mohawks, on condition that they would remove as a body to Stockbridge; and the Commissioners from Massachusetts who attended the great Council in Albany in June, 1751, were ordered to pass through Stockbridge, and confer upon the subject with those already here. But Capt. K. was not all that was desired in such a capacity; and before the Commissioners had arrived, various discouragements had damped the zeal of the stranger Indians, and Hendrick, and many others had left. Mr. Edwards was then here, though not yet settled, and he accompanied the Commissioners to Albany. The Indians agreed to return, with more of their Chiefs, and hold a council in the autumn. This they did, and deliberated from Tuesday, August 13th, to the 22d. It was agreed that a competent teacher should be provided, and that the Mohawks should remove to Stockbridge, and place their children under his instruction. Mr. Gideon Hawley was selected,

and came in February. Many Mohawks, Oneidas and Tuscaroras came; at one time a company of 20; 60 scholars were here in January; Joshua Paine, Esq., wrote to Gov. Pepperell for some plan for a girl's school, and Mr. H. was well liked. But those who had the direction of affairs were at a distance, both from each other and from Stockbridge, and consequently the design, however good in its plan, failed in its operation. The Indians again grew dissatisfied, and a Council at length called upon them all to return. Mr. H., together with Mr. Woodbridge and Mr. and Mrs. Ashley, his interpreters, soon visited the Oneidas in their own country, and the Commissioners decided to attempt missions among the various tribes on their own lands, and the school was abandoned. In 1754, Mr. Hollis placed his part of the funds at the disposal of Mr. Edwards, and a few children were left with him, and sent, it appears, to Dr. Bellamy, of Bethlehem, Connecticut, at the opening of the war. We hear no more of them after 1756. A few Housatonics completed their studies at Dartmouth, among them Peter Po-quano-peet, or "Sir Peter," and John Konkapot. All town offices soon came to be shared with the Indians. As examples,—King Benjamin and Johannes Mthoksin, Select Men, and Hendrick Wohpon-seet, Constable and Tythingman; Daniel Nimham and David Nau-nau-nee-ka-nut in other offices in 1760. In 1761, Johannes Mthoksin and Capt. Jacob Cheek-son-kun, Select Men, Frederic Poh-pon-seet Constable, Peter Nau-ne-wau-nau-koot, Tythingman, and King Benjamin Kauke-we-nau-naunt, and Capt. Cheek-son-kun on the committee for seating the Church.

In 1763, King Benjamin and Johannes Mthoksin, Select Men, John Nau-naum-pe-tonk, Constable, Robert Naunkau-wah Surveyor of Highways.

1765. Joseph Quinequaunt Constable, Solomon Wa-haun-wun-wan-meet, and John Nau-naum-pe-tonk, Select Men, Ephraim Paumk-kaun-hun Constable, J. Mthoksin Surveyor, — D. Nau-nau-nee-ke-nuk and Abraham Naunum-pe-tonk in other offices, &c. (See Appendix E.)

Passing on to the times of the Revolutionary struggle—1774, Select Men, Timothy Edwards, Esq., Elisha Brown, Esq., and Thomas Williams, white; and J. Mthoksin and Capt. Solomon Wa-haun-wun-wan-meet, Indian. Jehoia-chim Nau-naum-pe-tonk Constable.

1775. Jehoiachim Nau-naun-ne-kuk Constable, J. Mthoksin Tythingman. 1776, J. Mthoksin Assessor and Collector of Highways.

1777. J. Mthoksin and Joseph Sau-ques-quot Select Men, John Scheebuck Constable, Jehoiachim Nau-num-pe-tox Tythingman.

1778. Select Men the same as in 1777. 1779, J. Nau-num-pe-tonk Select Man, and Abraham Konkapot, oldest son of the Captain, Constable.

Many now living will remember Abraham in the days of his humiliation, when the instructions of his excellent father had been drowned in the intoxicating bowl. But Abraham had a brighter day once, and he must be remembered as a *man*.



SECTION XVIII.

PRIVATE LIFE OF MR. AND MRS. SERGEANT.

REV. John Sergeant was born in Newark, New Jersey, in 1710. His father died while he was yet very young, and he was educated by his step-father, Col. John Cooper. He entered Yale College in 1725, received his first degree in 1729, and his second in 1732, having, previous to the last date, been chosen to the office of Tutor. In these situations he obtained the esteem of his fellow students, his teachers, and his pupils, for his amiable and upright deportment, and stood well as a scholar. Being fitted for the ministry, his mind turned with strong yearnings toward the heathen, and it was his daily prayer that he might be employed as a missionary among them. The answer to these prayers, and the results which attended his labors, we have seen; a few particulars relating to the private life of Mr. Sergeant and his family, will complete the history.

And first—they suffered many privations. The salary of Mr. Sergeant, at first £100, New England currency, was raised at the time of his ordination, to £150—£1, 7s. 6d. being equal to an ounce of silver. But after six years, it was found that owing to depreciation it was constantly less-

ening, and it was again raised to £200. The last year of his life he received £300, £2, 17s. 9d being then but equal to an ounce of silver. But all the necessities of life must be procured at great expense; and this inconvenience to him increased;—wheat, for instance, rising from eight to forty shillings, and luxuries and many conveniences, must be quite dispensed with. When he built the first time, he was obliged to incur debts, and to call both upon the Commissioners and upon the Legislature for aid. This was the front part of the house now occupied by Mr. Henry J. Carter. The building of the house on the Hill is not mentioned in History, but when Mr. Sergeant died, a part of the lot set off to him by Government, had been sold, and his debts were over £700, New England currency, probably owing to expenses incurred at that time. The change of location was on account of fever and ague. The large portion given to the first settlers of Stockbridge is sometimes allowed to divest them of the character of missionaries, but *wild* land was *one* thing, and a farm near Stockbridge village at the present day, *quite another*. One fourth of West Springfield, we are told, was exchanged by its white owner for a rudely constructed wheel-barrow; a good illustration of the *first* value of land. The Stockbridge Missionaries, it is true, had large farms given them, but they themselves were to render those farms valuable. They were missionaries, who, after the first gift, were to support themselves by manual labor.

Secondly, Mr. Sergeant lost the use of his left hand in his boyhood, and could not bring his farm under culture by his own exertions; but he labored, perhaps more abundantly, than they all. He prepared, when able to preach in the Indian language, four sermons each week during the summer, and three during the winter, writing the Indian sermons first in English, and then in Indian, besides studying carefully all his Scripture readings.

Then he must be not only the *Father* of his people, but their Library and Printing Press. Their language, too, the reader will have perceived, was very difficult of pronunciation, and so much speaking wore constantly upon his strength. He had, moreover, little aid from ministerial brethren. It is amusing now to sit in our comfortable homes, and as we look out upon the scenery around, and

hear the merry whistle of the cars, to read the directions published in 1750 for finding the *location* of Stockbridge on a Map, the *name* not having then been entered. Yet it was anything but *amusing to live* here one hundred years ago, with "a wilderness of forty miles on the east, a wood of twenty on the west, and that great and terrible wilderness on the north of several hundred miles in extent, which reached to Canada."

Thirdly, the constant efforts of interested persons to sour and alarm the minds of the Indians, and the fall now and then of one for whom he had entertained delightful hopes, cost Mr. Sergeant anxious and sleepless nights, and caused him to spend days in secret fasting and prayer. He was charged too, with heresy, which, had he not been of a forgiving spirit, would have drawn him into angry controversy. In the first French war, soldiers were stationed here, and the house of Mr. Sergeant was garrisoned; and we may suppose he was often unfitted by surrounding circumstances, for the close application which his pastoral duties required.

But if he had trials, he had also blessings. In his wife he seemed very happy, and she is highly spoken of by his biographer. He had many friends in this country, and unseen friends in Great Britain, who not only ministered to the necessities of his body but often wrote to comfort and refresh his spirit under his toils; and he had a covenant-keeping God and Father who nourished and cherished him with gracious influences from above, and gave him many to be "seals of his ministry, and stars in the crown of his rejoicing in the day of the Lord Jesus."

The fatal disease of Mr. Sergeant was a nervous fever, attended with canker, and lasted twenty days. The Indians, of their own accord, assembled universally in the church, and spent a day in fasting and prayer on his behalf; and when he calmly breathed his spirit into the hands of his Savior, they sincerely mourned their loss. He died July 27, 1749, at the age of thirty-nine.

The following lines inscribed upon the stone which covers his grave, were composed by one of the Indians:

"Where is that pleasing form? I ask; thou canst not show:
He's not within, false stone there's nought but death below.
And where's that pious soul, that thinking, conscious mind?
Wilt thou pretend, vain cypher, that's with thee enshrined?"

Alas, my friends, not here with thee that I can find ;
Here's not a Sergeant's body, or a Sergeant's mind.
I'll seek him hence, for all's alike deception here,
I'll go to heaven, and I shall find my Sergeant there."

Mr. Sergeant left three children—*Electa*, the first white child born in Stockbridge, though not the first child of white Stockbridge parents; born 1740, or '41; *Erastus*, and *John*, an infant.

Electa married Col. Mark Hopkins, of Great Barrington, brother of the divine of that name, but died an inhabitant of Stockbridge, at the house of her son, Mr. Archibald Hopkins, July 11, 1798, at the age of fifty-eight.

Col. Hopkins died at White Plains two days previous to the battle fought there, viz., October 26, 1776, at the age of thirty-seven.

Erastus will be mentioned among the Physicians of Stockbridge, of whom he was the first.

John was afterwards Missionary to the Indians in New Stockbridge, New York. He died September 8, 1824, aged seventy-seven.

Mrs. Sergeant married Gen. Joseph Dwight, in 1752, and continued in the house built by her husband until after the close of the second French war, when they removed to Barrington. In 1765, her husband died, and she returned, not long afterward, to reside with Dr. Sergeant, in her old home, where she died, February 15, 1791, aged sixty-nine. She left five children; the three already named, and two by the name of Dwight, viz., *Pamela*, afterwards Mrs. Judge Sedgwick, who died September 20, 1807, aged fifty-four, and *Henry W.*, who died also in Stockbridge, September 15, 1804, aged forty-seven.



SECTION XIX.

THE INDIANS IN WAR AND IN PEACE.

THE Muh-he-ka-neew Nation were eminent among the other tribes, both for their valor in war, and for their virtues in time of peace. Besides the wars mentioned in

Section second, tradition tells us of a sanguinary conflict between the Stockbridge and Tunxis Tribes, in Northampton. About the year 1821, in excavating the Northampton and New Haven Canal, near the mouth of the Pequabuck, a number of human skeletons were thrown out, which after a time were re-interred, a monument being erected over the grave. On this is an inscription, which speaks of the tradition that the spot was once an Indian burial ground, as well as the field of the above mentioned engagement.

A newspaper article ran through the country in 1849, which mentions the Stockbridges as "a remnant of the Mohegan Confederation which in the days of King Philip, waged such dreadful war with the Pilgrims." This is a mistake. In 1632, the Mohegans, with others, visited Governor W. and entered into an alliance with the whites; but in 1637, they joined the Pequods. They were, however, withdrawn through the influence of Roger Williams; and when the bold Miantonimo revolted from his allegiance, and became again the foe of the English, they took him prisoner, delivered him up to the whites, and finally became his executioners. In 1675, when the "*Pilgrims*" were mostly dead, Philip, enraged doubtless by the cruelties which had shortened the life of his brother Alexander, the son and successor of Massasoit, waged war with the English, but the Mohegans, faithful to their league, were again friends to the white man. Joined with Connecticut soldiers, under Major Talcot, in August of '75, they overtook and cut in pieces a body of two hundred hostile Indians, at Housatonic River (Au-so-tun-noog,) midway between Westfield and Albany, killing and taking prisoners forty-five, twenty-five of them being warriors. Major T. lost but one man, and that one a Mohegan; and Hubbard, the historian of the event, mentions no hostile Indians in this vicinity, which his own hostility would surely have led him to do had any been known. A band of Indians from the Green River once invaded Wethersfield, but Green River was then above Deerfield, what we now call the Green, being called the White River. So that were the Stockbridges a *remnant*, and not the *root* of the Mohegans, the charge would be groundless. They seem to have lived always in peace with the whites. In 1784,

in preparing the ground for a church in this place, many human bones were found ; and at different times within a few years, the last time during the present autumn, (1853,) similar remains have been discovered on what was the "Settle Lot," of Joseph Woodbridge, in and near the yard to his dwelling. Probably these are the remains of those slain in 1775, as, had they been the bones of Stockbridges, that Tribe would not have allowed the ground to be taken up.

January 20, 1740, the church was filled with strangers, met here to consult with the resident Indians upon the subject of the French War, with the view of standing neutral. Wampum had been sent by the Scat-te-kooks, and three belts were prepared here. One sent to an eastern tribe conveyed these sentiments, "Let us have a tender regard to our families. The white people, with whom we respectively live in alliance, are about to enter into war. We only destroy ourselves by meddling with their wars. They are great and strong, and reach to the clouds. Let us sit and look on when they engage. Don't let any of your people engage in their wars ; and while they fight, let us sit and smoke together."

The third, sent to Norridgewock, is equally wise and shrewd : "Brother at Nau-nau-choo-wuk. Though you had begun a war with the English, you would regard us if we should desire you to leave off. You will, without doubt, not intermeddle, if we insist upon it. May be the English think the Indians prevent their conquering their enemies, the French ; therefore let us sit and smoke together, and see who will be conquerors."

The influence of the French prevented the carrying out of this plan ; yet the Stockbridge Indians were felt and acknowledged to be a great protection to this and neighboring towns. Stockbridge lay in the direct route, and it was constantly feared that the French and Indians would be down from the north, and sweep the little mission station before them ; but the tide divided, and passed to the east and west of us, the *hostile* not daring to encounter the *friendly* Indians.

In the spring of 1755, at the opening of the French and Indian war, two Schagh-ti-coke Indians, a father and son, were making sugar near where the Hop Brook Shakers

are now settled. While the father was gathering sap, two white men passed the camp, leading horses without saddles, and with bark halters. When he returned, the son mentioned the circumstance to him, and he at once suspected the horses to have been stolen. Taking his gun, he followed the men, and was shot at the moment he overtook them, and beaten to death. The whites were pursued, overtaken, carried to Springfield and tried, but acquitted of murder. One received a slight punishment for manslaughter, but the other was fully discharged. This enraged the Schagh-ti-cokes, and they resolved upon revenge.

One Sabbath noon, during the following summer, while many of the inhabitants were still at church, a man, passing the house of Mr. Chamberlain, which stood on the hill, on the site now occupied by Mrs. Joseph Hull, saw an Indian leave the house, dragging something after him. Supposing it to be one of the Stockbridge Indians, who was taking advantage of the absence of the family to plunder, he ran towards him, when the Indian, seeing he was discovered, struck his tomahawk into the head of his victim, and immediately fled. It was a little child of three years old. Entering the house, the man saw an infant taken from the cradle, and its brains dashed out against the mantle by another Indian, who also fled, while Mr. Owen, a hired servant, who in this case was more faithful than the husband and father, had fallen in defending Mrs. Chamberlain, and lay upon the floor nearly dead with his wounds. Mr. Chamberlain, and two little boys were on the bed in an adjoining room. One of the children crept under the bed, and the other hid between the straw and feathers, but the father, in his fright, jumped out at the window and fled.

Col. Ephraim Williams had sold his place on the hill and left town, and the house—the same which was afterwards owned by Dr. West—was garrisoned during that war, and Owen was immediately taken there. Mr. Mathew Cadwell, father of Mr. David Cadwell, was sent to Sheffield for a physician, there being none nearer at the time; but Owen died. The alarm spread through the town like that of fire. Lawrence Lynch, from Ireland, father to Mr. Moses Lynch, late of this place, was living at Gen.—then Col.—Dwight's. In the fright, he took Pa-

mela, the infant, in his arms, and fled on foot to Barrington, with the whole family, little John Sergeant not staying to put shoe or stocking to the feet which were unluckily bare at the moment.

Scouts had been sent to Pittsfield and Lenox the day before this affair, to bring in the few families who were located in those towns, the hostile attitude of the northern Indians having occasioned much alarm. As they were returning on the Sabbath, they were met near the house of Mr. Morell, on the Lenox road, by the same two Indians, and one man named Stevens, who rode in front, was shot. The Indians were not seen until after the gun was fired, and they immediately fled. The life of Mrs. Stevens was saved by Mr. Hinsdale, the first settler of Lenox. Revenge being thus taken, the Indians were satisfied, and seem to have returned quietly to their Tribe.

During Sabbath night and next day, many came to assist the Stockbridge people, and the fort was well manned. But those who came had no regard for the Stockbridge Indians, and only increased the dissatisfaction already felt at the treatment of the Schagh-ti-cokes. They charged our Indians with the murders, and threatened them with death. Nor were all the inhabitants of Stockbridge possessed of a missionary spirit. There were those so barbarous even as to promise a reward to some soldiers who came this way, if they would bring to them the scalp of a Canadian Indian; and the soldiers, still more barbarous, exhumed a Stockbridge Indian who had lately died, and took the scalp from his head. The fraud was detected, and the crime punished; but the grief and indignation of the Indians was greatly increased. Yet an Indian *can* forgive. Governor Shirley soon drew off *nearly every fighting man* among them, with the promise that whites should be stationed here to protect their homes during their absence, and Mr. Hawley, who had been driven back by the war, enlisted as Chaplain.

At the opening of the Revolutionary War, a Stockbridge chief delivered the following speech before the Massachusetts Legislature, 1779.

"Brothers—You remember when you first came over the great water, I was great and you were little; *very small*. I then took you in for a friend, and kept you under my arms so

that no one might injure you. Since that time we have been true friends : there has never been any quarrel between us. But now our conditions are changed. You are become great and tall. You reach to the clouds. You are seen all round the world. I am become small ; very little. I am not so high as your knee. Now you take care of me, and I look to you for protection.

Brothers ! I am sorry to hear of this great quarrel between you and old England. It appears that blood must soon be shed to end this quarrel. We never till this day understood the foundation of this quarrel between you and the country you came from. Brothers ! Whenever I see your blood running, you will soon see me about you to revenge my Brother's blood. Although I am low and very small, I will gripe hold of your enemy's heel, that he cannot run so fast and so light, as if he had nothing at his heels.

" Brothers ! You know I am not so wise as you are, therefore I ask your advice in what I am now going to say. I have been thinking, before you come to action, to take a run to the westward, and feel the mind of my brethren, the Six Nations, and know how they are to stand ; whether they are on your side, or for your enemies. If I find they are against you, I will try to turn their minds. I think they will listen to me, for they have always looked this way for advice concerning all important news that comes from the rising sun. If they hearken to me, you will not be afraid of any danger from behind you. However their minds are affected, you shall soon know by me. Now I think I can do you more service in this way, than by marching off immediately to Boston and staying there. It may be a great while before blood runs. Now, as I said, you are wiser than I. I leave this for your consideration, whether I come down immediately, or wait till I hear some blood is spilled.

" Brothers ! I would not have you think by this, that we are falling back from our engagements. We are ready to do any thing for your relief, and shall be guided by your counsel.

" Brothers ! One thing I ask of you, if you send for me to fight, that you will let me fight in my own Indian way. I am not used to fight English fashion ; therefore you must not expect I can train like your men. Only point out to me where your enemies keep, and that is all I shall want to know."

SECTION XX.

REMOVAL OF THE INDIANS FROM STOCKBRIDGE.

THE gratitude of the Oneidas to the Stockbridge tribe for aid received when a powerful tribe from the west were about to destroy them, was effectively manifested by the gift of a tract of land in what is now the county of Madison, New York. The question of removal was agitated previously to the Revolutionary struggle, but the war rendered it inexpedient, and the main body did not remove until 1785. Various families still lingered. The widow of Captain Nimham remained for several years in Glendale, and with her a beautiful and excellent daughter named Lucretia. Captain Yoke or Yokun, lived near the residence of Mrs. Hopkins; Catharine, the widow of King Solomon, on the same street, but nearer to the village; Widow Elizabeth in her little log-house, neatly lined with matting, near Mr. Sheldon's, and some of the last snows of winter linger in the dell called "the Widow Pochow Place." John Schebuck wandered from house to house; and once when pointed to the door, by a beautiful young bride from "the Cape," he indignantly asked if a "Scape Scodder thought to come here, turning out old 'habitants?" Abraham Konkapot, and Hannah his wife, were the last to leave the old home.

Mr. Kirkland had labored among the Oneidas for several years, keeping his family in Stockbridge, and that tribe seem to have been looked upon by others as peculiarly favored. The state of things at the time, the character of those with whom the Stockbridges were to be associated, &c., will best be seen by letters from them, and also by one from Mr. Kirkland; besides that, they are interesting specimens of Indian composition. To Mr. Kirkland after the close of the war they wrote:

"We entreat our Father to make one trial more for christianizing Indians at least for one, if not for two years, and if there be no encouragement after that, that we shall be built

up as a people, and embrace the religion of Jesus, he may leave us, and we shall expect nothing but ruin."

And to the "Scot's Commissioners at Boston:"

"Fathers—We have been distressed by the black cloud that so long overspread our country; the cloud is now blown over; let us thank the Great Spirit, and praise Jesus. By means of the servants of Jesus, the good news of God's Word hath been published to us. We have received it. Some of us love it, and Jesus hath preserved us through the late storm. Fathers, our fire begins to burn again; our hearts rejoice to hear it; we hope it will burn brighter than ever; and that it will enlighten the nations around. Our brothers of the Stockbridge and Mohegan tribes, and many others from the eastward, have already agreed to come and sit with us around it, who all hope to see also the *light of God's Holy Word.*"

March 10, 1784, Mr. Kirkland says:

"The Oneidas expect in the course of two years to have more than a thousand Indians in their vicinity who will be disposed to attend to the word of God, and among them some hearty lovers of the religion of Jesus, as themselves express it. About eighty of the Delaware tribe have lately petitioned the Oneidas for a settlement in their neighborhood where they might have the privilege of religious instruction. Their request was immediately granted."

Mr. John Sergeant had been educated at Newark, New Jersey, and though without college honors, was judged to be fully qualified, after a period of study with Rev. Dr. West of Stockbridge, to preach the gospel. In 1775, Dr. West committed to his care the Indian part of his congregation, as his knowledge of the language peculiarly fitted him for that department of labor; and from that time he received the salary of the *Missionary*, and Dr. West was supported by the whites, as pastor only. The missionary salary was then received from Scotland. During the Revolution, it was discontinued; but was all paid up afterwards. The Massachusetts Missionary Society, at a later date, assumed in part the support of the station. The salary of Mr. John Sergeant, jun., when duly set apart for the work, was four hundred dollars.

At the emigration of the Indians, Mr. Sergeant was undecided what course to pursue. The Indians were dismissed from this church, and, to the number of sixteen,

formed into a church by themselves. Mr. Sergeant remained with his family, and they left, sheep without a shepherd. Soon, however, Rev. Sampson Occum, a distinguished Mohegan preacher, visited New Stockbridge, gained favor with the people, and manifested a wish to be settled over them. In 1786 Mr. Sergeant visited his little flock, intending to preach to them in future, and leave his *family* in old Stockbridge. But there was a division, one party preferring their old pastor and teacher, and the other choosing a minister of their own race. The result was the formation of two churches, to one of which Mr. Occum ministered until his sudden death, which Mr. Sergeant says in his journal was "about 1791." Mr. Sergeant had been ordained as Evangelist in 1788, with a view to his mission at N. Stockbridge; and after the death of Mr. O., Rev. Mr. Ells of New Haven, a missionary, visited the Stockbridge Indians, and formed a plan of union between the churches.



SECTION XXI.

RESIDENCE AT NEW STOCKBRIDGE.

FOR some time Mr. Sergeant kept his family in Massachusetts and spent a part of his time here, an Indian woman keeping house for him at New Stockbridge; but when his daughters were old enough to superintend his family concerns among the Indians, two of them in turn spent a year with him there, to the great joy of his people. The time of change was a public day to them; they met to deliver farewell addresses, and to give new and significant names to those who had left for a time the pleasures of more civilized society to accompany and aid their "Father" in his efforts to do them good. They were ready in supplying the missionary with such comforts as they could procure, and manifested a tender regard for his welfare. More than this, they showed a disposition to strengthen and encourage him in his missionary labors. "Father," said

they in an address delivered in 1791, "we hope you will keep up good courage, and we will try all we can to strengthen your hands in all your labors of love to promote the peace, happiness and prosperity of our nation."

The charity of some eastern friends, together with assistance from his people, enabled Mr. Sergeant to erect a framed building, in which he settled his family: but the Indians afterwards built a dam to obtain water power; and the flooded timber, as it decayed, so corrupted the atmosphere, that he was obliged to build again beyond the reach of the miasma. Those of his family who were sensitive to the unhealthful influence, removed; the others remained, and *his* time was divided between them. The Indians themselves suffered much: sickness prevailed and many died. At length, wiser perhaps than *we*, they drained the pond made by the dam, and health was restored to the village.

The farm on which the Mission House stood, about 50 acres, was set off for the use of Mr. S. by the Indians. The church was built by the Missionary Society. It was a neat building, and would accomodate 500 persons. The London Bibles adorned the pulpit; and when stoves came to be a part of church furniture, Rev. Dr. Morse, who was frequently at New Stockbridge, presented one to the congregation, or rather to the female members of it. "Old Fish" was a noted Tythingman. He carried a long stick, which was used, both in doors and out as occasion required. In 1792, the Stockbridge Indians and their neighbors, the Six Nations, were invited to Philadelphia by Gen. Washington, "that measures might be concerted to impart such of the blessings of civilization as might suit their condition" at that time, and Col. Pickering was delegated to treat with them. One thousand five hundred dollars annually was appropriated, to be divided among them: and this annuity was of great use to the Stockbridges in the support of their poor. During their stay in Philadelphia, Gen. W. ordered that they "should be well fed, well lodged and well clothed"; that "presents should be sent to their wives and families;" and as two of their number had been removed by death, "that their tears should be wiped away according to their own custom," and "presents be sent to the relatives of the deceased" at home. These orders he mentions in his

farewell address to them, dated Philadelphia, April 5, 1792. He calls them New York Indians, the *Five Nations*; their old name not having again been universally applied to them, though they had been *Six* since the return of the southern branch of the Tuscaroras from Carolina, in the early days of that Colony.

After their removal from Massachusetts, the Indians still retained the puritan custom of setting apart a day annually for Fasting and Prayer, in the spring, and another in the fall for thanksgiving, and they took pleasure in the thought that they were united with their old friends in these exercises. Dec. 5, 1793, was one of their Thanksgiving days. The assembly convened at 12, and listened to the discourse, and then retired to a private house, where the Pastor was invited to dine. A table of sufficient size to accomodate 30 or 40 persons, was plentifully spread with meats, pies and puddings, and "good wholesome spring-water;" and when the cloth had been removed, the Chief delivered a long address. Among other things, he exhorted them to thankfulness for all the mercies of the year past, and that they had been permitted at its close "to sit together in love and peace, and partake of the bounties of heaven, not eating food we might have obtained from white people, our neighbors, which was our state of dependence in the country from which we came; but we have now been fed by such things as we have obtained by the labor of our own hands." This, he said, was "matter of thankfulness." Nor were they thankful in word only. Freely they felt that they had received, and freely they would give. The provisions which remained after the feast was over, were distributed among the poor and the aged, and the festivities closed with joyful expressions of gratitude to God, and to man,—a day, one would suppose not readily forgotten by the community of whites around them among whom such Feasts were unknown.

In 1798, a deputation was sent from Boston, consisting of Rev. Drs. Belknap and Morse, to inquire into the state of the New York Indians, and the success of missionary labors among them. Of course Mr. Sergeant's journal being written for the inspection of the Commissioners, contains nothing relative to the visit except the fact; but the continuance of support argues their satisfaction. The

principal men met to wait on them previous to the public meeting. In May of the same year, a number of Quakers, or Friends, from Philadelphia, passed through the tribes, exhorting the Indians to temperance, industry, and the cultivation of the arts of civilized life, and promising the aid of their Society in the promotion of these ends. The Stockbridge Indians "all met," to listen to their advice.

In 1798, a most interesting admission to the church is recorded. Far back in the ages of antiquity, if we can credit the records of uncivilized nations, a division of the Tuscarora Tribe took place; and while one portion went South and settled on the Neuse, others were scattered over the prairies of the West. Among these last, or else among the Delawares in their vicinity, was the Muncey Tribe. No light had yet broken upon the spiritual darkness of that region, through human instrumentality; but one ray streamed directly from the throne into the conscience of a Munsee, through no medium but the creation, proving that even the heathen "are without excuse." The first conviction of this pagan was, that the world around him must have had a creator. He looked at the earth and at the sky, he heard a voice in the trees, and in the streams, and laid himself down in the budding grass, and felt that there was a God. But was he unknown, as well as unseen? The bosom of the child heaved with aspirations for its all pervading Parent, and did not the heart of the Father yearn over the child of his creation? Yes, surely, if there was a benevolent Creator, he had revealed himself to his creatures; and the untaught Munsee devoted his future life to the search for God, and his Revelation.

God has never said to any of his creatures "Seek ye me in vain," and soon the enquirer heard of light at the east. Resolved to "leave his country and his father's house," and go into that country of which the Lord should tell him, he desired his wife to accompany him. But she loved her people and her religion too well, and would not be persuaded; so, "staggering not" under the sore trial, he turned his back upon all he had and loved or known, and set forward on his pilgrimage. Arrived at the Tuscarora village, he obtained the services of Capt. Cusick, and came with him to to Mr. Sergeant. Capt. C. was generally employed by Mr. Sergeant as interpreter to *his* people who attended service

in New Stockbridge, and having experience himself of the power of the Gospel, was able to convey to the pilgrim the teachings of the Pastor. The thirsty soul of the Munsee drank in the truth like water; and "believing with all his heart," he was baptized by the well deserved name of *Abraham*. Muncey became his surname. Having left his own family he chose to live alone, and his neat little hut in the woods, three miles from church, was ever a fit emblem of the purity of his after life. Though lame, he was *always* at church, and one of the *first* there. He remained in New Stockbridge until the little band of Tuscaroras, to which the Cusick family belonged, rejoined their brethren near Buffalo. He was called by the Stockbridges a Muncey, and also a Tuscarora, though the Tuscaroras call the Munsees or Munsys, Delawares.

Another circumstance which goes to make up the history of the Muh-he-ka-ne-ok at New Stockbridge, being without date, may be mentioned in connection with the story of Abraham Munsee, as it is supposed to have occurred not far from the time of his conversion. Word was brought by one of their neighbors that a Chief was dead, and the mourners, according to custom, would soon pass through the Indian towns to pronounce eulogies, and sing "condolence songs." A large cabin was erected for the Council; and when the mourners arrived, they sung their songs as they marched along the streets to the place of assembling. Mr. Sergeant prepared a supper of which he invited them to partake after the public exercises were over; and when their bodies had been well fed, he brought out the old London Bibles, and explained the picture to a motley group of Senecas, Oneidas, Onondagas, &c. Among them was an Onondaga Chief, and the bread for the soul thus dealt out proved food indeed for him. From that day he labored for the "meat that endureth unto everlasting life."

In 1805, Mr. Sergeant was invited to attend two great Councils at Oneida, and listen to the instructions just brought from "the prophet, so called," by the Onondagas, his adherents, accompanied, in the first instance, by five or six strings and belts of wampum. The advice, delivered in the most tender and affectionate manner, was in substance this — That they should refrain from all vice, bury all animosities, cast off the past as a tattered, filthy garment,

and begin anew, lives of sobriety, honesty, peace and friendship, listening to the instructions of missionaries in things *temporal*, and particularly to the teachings of Mr. Sergeant. He told them that the greater knowledge of the whites enabled them to defraud the Indian; but that the Great Spirit had given only to the white man skill to make, or liberty to drink poisonous liquors, therefore his Red Children must shun all temptations from that source with abhorrence, and expel from their society all those who still indulged their dangerous inclinations. Notice was then given of a general Council to be held at Sandusky the next spring, to discuss the matter of reform. The western Indians had been invited, and the Shawanoes particularly required by the Senecas to attend, and also to take from their witches all poisonous roots.

At the conclusion of this address, Mr. Sergeant was desired to speak; and his instructions were received with the greatest cordiality. A pagan Chief thanked him, he said, a thousand times, in a long speech, promising for the future to renounce ardent spirits altogether. The first council was held on the 10th of Aug., and early in September the Stockbridge Indians were required to return their answer. Here was a strong temptation. The Prophet openly declared that the Indians could not embrace the *religion* of the *whites*, but his revelations were more friendly to the gospel than they had been. Their brethren far and near were listening to him, and they must either yield, or with a sensitiveness more keen than that of the white man, stand out, and be singular, perhaps *obnoxious*, for several were put to death for nonconformity. Considered in this light, the five strings of white wampum delivered by the men, and the four strings of white and purple delivered by the women, are "ornaments of grace unto their heads, and chains about their necks."

After preliminary courtesies, Capt. Hendrick Aupaumut, the Chief and Speaker, says—

"Be it known to you, that we are well pleased to find you are so faithful in delivering what is right and good. that you have such resolutions to forsake all wicked practices and to follow the good path: and further be it known to you that we take hold of your good words, and will endeavor to hold them fast.

"Uncles, we will also inform you that the reasons why the

nations of the land have ever been overcome by poisonous liquors and other sins is,—because we believe the temptations of the evil spirit, and would have him reign in our hearts instead of the Good Spirit, and because we are ignorant of our weakness ; therefore we depend upon our own strength and wisdom : consequently we neglect to pray to the Great and Good Spirit for wisdom and strength. But, Uncle, be assured, —unless we and you pray earnestly to him for help, and that every day, we can never overcome this strong drink, and all wicked practices.

Uncle, you must not depend upon that Prophet you speak of altogether for instruction ; but you and we must depend on the Good Spirit altogether, and make our wants known to him every day ; for if we neglect this we can't expect his blessing.

Uncle, listen, ;—You, the Chiefs, ought to give to yourselves liberty, and give liberty to your young men and women, that you and they may go to hear the Ministers of the Gospel when such opportunity offers at your village or neighborhood, and forbid them not.

Uncle, if any time in future, good white people should offer to teach your children to read and write, or instruct you in the way of the christian religion, refuse it not ; but accept the same, and embrace it, because by learning to read and write, you may know the mind and will of the Good Spirit, and can learn many wonderful things which he has done from the creation of the world ; and by which you may know how to praise him, and pray to him aright.

Uncle,—What I tell *you* I will do myself. *We* give our young men and women liberty to go and hear the Ministers of the Gospel anywhere,—also to come here (to the Onondaga village,) to hear and see the ancient way of worship of *your forefathers* ; and if any one should find in their minds to be their duty to join this or that society, we will not forbid them ; because if you and we use both these means, when one fails the other may stand ; but if you, and we depend only upon one instrument ; and neglect all the rest, when this fails, you and I must come to ruin.

Uncle — In your speech you exhort us to be united as one man. This we have done on our part these many years past. We maintain friendship and union with our brothers, the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, and we do not respect this party or that, (meaning christian or pagan party, so called,) but we love them all alike.

Uncle,— Let us all look to the Great and Good Spirit every day for help, and may he guide us in the right way."

The message of the women was more definite upon the subject of Temperance, lamenting that the whites should

ever have introduced such "poisons into this Island," and informing their sisters that but few of their sex now drank at all. "Number of us," say they, "endeavor to walk in the same good path which the Great Good Spirit has pointed out for us, and are looking to him every day for help, for we find that we can do nothing of ourselves, and do believe that he will not accept mere ceremonies, but he requires the whole heart." Then, as their husbands and brother had done, they exhort their less christianized sisters to improve any opportunities which may ever offer to give education to their children ; "and further," say they, "we exhort you to be very faithful to teach your little children as soon as they are able to understand words. Teach them the will of the Good Spirit, and do it every day."

These speeches were both delivered by Capt H. Aupaut, and copies were furnished by him to Mr. Sergeant.—Doubtless he was the author of the first. But the last is less perfect English, and breathes a deeper tone of experimental piety. It is probably from the pen of some female member of the church. Mr. S. also wrote a letter to the Prophet. In August of the same year, Dorothy Shipley, a member of the Society of Friends, from Yorkshire, England, visited New Stockbridge, spent a few days with the Indians and then publicly addressed them. On the 16th she held another meeting with the women of the tribe, at which she communicated much good instruction. She was pleased with the amiable disposition of the people, and they on their part were grateful for her kindness, and gave thanks in a farewell address, that the "Good Spirit had put such love into her heart that she was willing to undertake such a long and tedious journey on purpose to deliver his message to them, and that he had protected her on the way." And now, having given her a brief account of the mission among them, and expressed their hopes and joys in view of a brighter world, they promised by Divine Grace, to cherish the memory of this new friend, "and of the good words which she had delivered to them," commending her to the protection of heaven, and looking forward to that day when she and they should be gathered at the right hand of the Redeemer, to be parted no more forever. This address was signed by five of the sisters in behalf of the "Women of the Muh-hea-kun-neck Nation."

Oct. 11 ; the women held a general meeting and agreed to use their influence to discountenance public weddings. This was a new inroad upon national customs which they believed the cause of temperance and good morals now required, and they "unanimously" resolved—"That we will use our *utmost* influence to put an end to this practice, by having the weddings of our young people as private as possible."

Feb. 3d, 1811, a very interesting concert of sacred music was given by the Indians of New Stockbridge. The choir, consisting of 60 or 70 Indians, "dressed in their best," and one playing on a flute, marched about half a mile to the church, where the procession opened for the entrance of the clergy. About 100 whites and 200 Indians were supposed to be present. The sermon was preached by one of the neighboring ministers, and the performances gave universal satisfaction.

"This remarkable attention of my people, to improve in the art of singing," says Mr. Sergeant, "has had a good effect to call the people together ; a seriousness has appeared in the minds of some, together with a reformation of manners. The Singing Master has much advanced the cause of religion among this people."

Oct. 3d, 1817, Joseph Quinney was chosen Deacon of the Church. He was a very useful man, active in sustaining and conducting meetings for prayer. June 12, 1818, Jacob Cheek-sun-kun was chosen to the same office, in the room, probably, of Dea. Quinney, as he removed about that time to Ohio.

Apr. 8, 1819, Rev. Mr. Parsons preached to the Stockbridges from Rom. 10. 1., "Brethren, my heart's desire, &c." After sermon, a collection of \$5,07 was taken up for the Jews, and Capt Hendrick Aupaumut read an affectionate letter from the "Muh-hea-kun-nuk Nation" to their "brethren who were encamped about Jerusalem,—the Sachem and head men of the remnant of the children of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, commonly called Jews." In this epistle they gave an account of the "arrival at their fireside of a certain man named John Sergeant about 84 years before," and of the blessing which had followed his instructions. "We would moreover inform you," say they, "that our ancestors were sitting at the front door of the

house, and that our allies or friends, or un-nun-naum-pauk, commonly called Indians, were sitting on the west side of us. None of them as a nation had received the religion of Jesus except the Mohawks, who were sitting next to us.—We feel happy, however, to inform you that many of our brethren of the different tribes of Indians have now received the good Word of God.” Then they speak of the knowledge derived from that Word, and remark that “many of the heathen Indians on this Island, when they heard that Jesus was killed by his own brethren, the Jews, were much enraged, and declared that they would not have killed so good a brother.” But they remind the outcasts of the many great and precious promises in store, to be fulfilled in the day of Israel’s redemption, to hasten which they now unite in sending “messengers of the Lord to them,” believing that if Jews and Un-nun-naum-pauk would be faithful to the end and truly worship the Great and Good Spirit, they would meet and see each other at the great day of Jesus, “when believing Jews, and all faithful Gentiles will be received into heaven, or Woh-un-koi-geu-wun-kun-nuk, where there is fullness of peace and joy, and consummate happiness.

Capt. Hendrick closed with an address to Mr. Parsons, imploring the blessing of heaven upon him and the good cause in which he was engaged. “Nothing,” says Mr. P. in speaking of this scene, “could please me more. I was willing to believe he was a son of Abraham, pleading the cause of him whom their fathers crucified.” Three baskets were presented to Mr. P. and a string of wampum was sent with the letter or message.

During their residence at New Stockbridge, the Indians sustained a character for kindness to their own poor, and hospitality to strangers. Their houses were built of logs, or in the English style, according to the thrift of the owners. Their gardens were well cultivated by the women. Little attention was paid to the cultivation of fruit.

For a few years after the removal of Mr. Sergeant, he employed white men to teach, for the benefit of his own children. Among these teachers, are mentioned Lot Rue from Stockbridge, and a Nathaniel Sergeant, not connected with the missionary. For several of the last years of their

residence in New York also, the small children were placed under the care of white ladies, Miss Camp of Litchfield, for one or two seasons, and afterwards Miss Gregg. Except these teachers, the Indians *taught* as well as *sustained* their own schools. Those who possessed the means also sent their children to select schools among the whites. Girls were sent to the school of Miss Royce in Clinton; several boys were educated at Cornwall; one by the Moravians, and others, both boys and girls, in different parts of the country, as circumstances would permit.

The Indians always seem to feel their danger from spirituous liquors, and as early as 1796, a man by the name of Moses — was convicted upon a charge of bringing spirits into town for sale, contrary to the by-laws of the Nation. After this, in consequence of their inability to control the whites by any national laws, an Act was passed in the Legislature of New York, forbidding the traffic to all citizens of the state. This was obtained through the influence of Mr Sergeant, but he was bitterly persecuted on account of it, and the Indians found it as difficult to execute the laws of the State upon spirit dealers, as to put in force their own. In a circular written upon this subject by a daughter of the missionary, she speaks of the Indians, once owners of the Continent,

“Now driven from their last retreat; their homes and firesides taken violent possession of by ruffians; their fields and gardens dressed by the hands of strangers, and they driven forth from their family altars and the Temple of their God, to roam among the beasts of the forests or beg their bitter bread from door to door. Look,” says she, “at their corrupters, carrying the poison of ardent spirits to their very dwellings, and there tempting them by every argument these emissaries of Satan, *assisted* by the father of lies, can hold forth to intemperance, and following in his foot-steps all the foul black train of vices. Look at their youth the hope and promise of their nation, withheld indeed by the force of unassisted resolution and the voice of conscience, at last yielding themselves an unwilling prey to the voice of temptation, becoming inebriated, bartering their homes and attempting to murder their wives. Look at their tempters, profaning God’s holy day; and within sound of their peaceful house of worship, and while they were engaged in its sacred rites, has been heard the sound of their axes. Because too, the laws of our State had not made the Indians amenable for debt, actions of trespass have been

brought against them ; begging of them the purchase of property, and because found in their hands, indicting them before our courts of justice for theft ; then by robbing the sick and miserable of the beggarly remains of the property which they have, or thrusting them, diseased, into prison, there to die, leaving their wives and babes to mourn, because that, in the midst of this christian land not one was found to befriend the friendless. These are not the chimeras of fancy, but melancholly facts which any, who will, may learn.’

Miss Sergeant also drew up a Constitution, and a very interesting Temperance Society was formed among the females. In his journal of April, 1819, Mr. Sergeant mentions a sermon preached by a missionary at the funeral of a woman, the “President of the Female Society for Promoting Good Morals, Industry and Manufactures among the Women of the Tribe.”

The Monthly Concert was early established, and strictly observed ; and collections were sometimes made for missionary purposes.

Mr. Sergeant especially addressed the Oneidas and Tuscaroras at the close of the Sabbath services, or delivered the discourse of the morning to them at his own house during the intermission, Capt. Nicholas Cusick being the interpreter. Capt. Cusick was chosen to the office of deacon, but at what date is not known. He joined the church about 1790. When his tribe, the Tuscaroras, removed to the vicinity of Niagara, he went with them, and subsequently joined the Baptists and was immersed. He died in 1844 or 5, at the advanced age of 91 or 2.*

Mr. Sergeant held a Conference Meeting during the week at which the people, both males and females, proposed questions ;—questions often, which indicated deep thought and searchings of heart. Confessions were made too of particular sins, and forgiveness asked. The children were frequently catechised by the Pastor ; and the females sustained a weekly prayer meeting on Thursdays. Revivals often occurred, and the relations of christian experience

*Note. The Cusick family possess unusual talent, and have exerted it in a laudable manner. They have attended to the cultivation of their minds, and one of them has appeared before the world as a compiler of ancient Indian Records.

which have been preserved, show marks of deep humility, earnest conflicts, and a childlike lying down in the arms of the covenant-keeping Redeemer, as the only, but the all-sufficient refuge of the sin-sick soul. The commencement of one revival is worthy of especial notice.

About the year 1812 religion seemed in a very low state, and one of the principal women, a member of the Quinney family, feared that no reviving influences would again fall on New Stockbridge. Her heart was discouraged, and she "went mourning all the day long." At length the thought came to her—"God is never *discouraged*,"—and the oil of joy flowed into her soul. She strengthened herself in God, and gave her heart to prayer for a blessing.—Soon the heavens gathered blackness, the sound of approaching rain was heard, and a plentiful shower made glad the little heritage of God;—but most of all it gladdened the heart of Mrs. Seth.



SECTION XXII.

REMOVAL FROM NEW STOCKBRIDGE.

IN his early history of the Muh-hea-ka-ne-uk, Capt Hendrick mentions the Miami Indians as their grand children, and observes that a number of his people live on the land long since transferred to them. Of this fact there are traces in their New Stockbridge history, one of which will be mentioned in the biographical notice of Capt. Hendrick Aupaumut. In 1818, so great was the evil of vicinity to the whites, measures were entered into to effect a general removal. The title to the land, it was believed, was secured, and July 25th, a church was formed, consisting of four males, and four females, who were recommended to the fellowship of the Presbytery of Ohio; and Sept. 4th, a company of 70 or 80 people started for a new home. They took with them Scott's Commentary, and also the Farewell Address of Mr. Sergeant, which he requested them to read together as often as once or twice in the year.

A petition had been presented to the Governor and Council of New York in March of that year, which after hastily glancing at the great change that had taken place since the Indians, seated on the banks of the Hudson, received the feeble whites as brothers, and built a fire-place for them at Albany, and in true Indian eloquence pointed to our battle-fields, where their bones are always mingled with the bones of the white man,—desires that Government would “buy a part of their Dish” to enable those who desired to remove, and “keep the other part for the use of those who remained in the State,—and keep away their people from it.” They also expressed a desire to go as *christians* ; and though they should be settled among the heathen, still “to pursue the same path of civilization as that pursued by the whites.”

The land which they had now obtained lay “upon the White River, in Ohio, but near the borders of Indiana.”—Before reaching it, however, they learned that the Miami Indians had sold their own land, and with it that of the Stockbridges, reserving the right of occupancy for three years. On the receipt of this sad news, some returned ; but others went on, and either settled upon the soil or scattered about where they could find employment for the winter. In May, 1819, James McCockle wrote to Mr. S. from Piqua, saying that the papers of the church members had been received at that place with cordiality, and a communion service appointed on their account. They had spent the winter in that vicinity, and generally been ornaments to their profession. The pastor of the Piqua church frequently preached to them. A letter from John Metoxin of the same date speaks of divisions which had almost disheartened Deac. Quinney, and caused himself many sad reflections. A letter from Mr. Sergeant had restored unanimity of feeling ; but where to go, or what to do, was a question difficult to answer. At length it was decided to unite at White River, and to endeavor to regain the land by application to Government. But their efforts were unavailing, and sickness wasted both their numbers and their spirits.

In the mean time the church at home felt deeply for them, and many prayers went up in their behalf. Jan. 23, 1819, was set apart as a day of Fasting and Prayer in view

of this disappointment, and of the circumstance that the Chiefs of the Nation were in Washington, and would that day lay the case before the General Government. Prayers were offered for the relief of the distressed, and "that the Good Lord would dispose the great men of the United States to restore their land." But Providence had other designs, and their prayers were returned, doubtless into their own bosoms. The land could not be regained, though they were *afterwards* paid for its loss.

About this time, two small bands of New York Indians requested leave of President Monroe to purchase with their own means of the Menomonees, for \$12,000, a tract of land on Green Bay; the Six Nations having been permitted by an Act of 1794 to trade with individuals *as* individual tribes. There is evidence that the treaty was made and the money paid; but the Menomonees denied it; and the whole was, it is said, the work of the Ogden Land Company, who wished to involve Congress in efforts for the removal of all the New York Indians, as they had obtained the right to purchase of them. The affair was finally adjusted in 1832, by Congress paying to the Indians the \$12,000, and also purchasing for them of the Western Indians a tract of 500,000 acres on Green Bay for which they paid \$20,000. Since that time most fraudulent measures have been resorted to, in the hope that the Indians would either be induced, or constrained to remove; measures which disgrace even poor humanity; but still many remain.

During this period of commotion—Dec. 18, 1821—Mr. Sergeant speaks of the "Great plan to concentrate about 5,000 Indians in the vicinity of Green Bay, on the west side of Lake Michigan. My people," he says, "with a few of the Six Nations, were very successful in purchasing a large country there, and we understand the General Government have confirmed their title. Means will now be used to obtain a law of Congress to exclude *spirituous liquors*, and *white heathen* from Green Bay. If the Lord should prosper this plan, my people would all be willing to remove.—In this case, there will soon be the most interesting establishment for the benefit of near 20,000 individuals scattered in what is called the North West Territory, that has ever been planned; for my people would carry with them almost all the arts of civilized life. The poor natives cannot

flourish, surrounded by a white population." The church of New Stockbridge then numbered about 30. Mr. Sergeant endeavored to procure the temperance law and also a quantity of Eliot's bibles for his people to distribute ; but both attempts were unsuccessful. A part of the Indians, however, removed ; and Mr. Sergeant's son went on with them, and saw them settled on the Fox River, near Green Bay. Others still remained, and preferred to call themselves "*the* (Indian) Nation."

Sept. 8, 1824, Mr. Sergeant died, after a long season of decline. In an address presented by the Indians to the United Mission Society of the Presbytery of Oneida County, March 9, 1825, they "confess that their tongues are impotent to tell the least part of the invaluable services which he had rendered them," and declare that to the last "he slacked not, but earnestly labored to secure a successor, and recommended them to the Society from which he derived his support." When he was compelled to close his labors in the pulpit, they felt, they say, "as if their sun was setting, and did not know but darkness would succeed." But the God whom they had avouched did not forsake them. The Rev. Jesse Miner began first to preach to them one half of the time, and previous to the delivery of this address had been commissioned by the above named Society of Oneida to take the entire charge of them. He seemed well qualified for his work, and entirely won their confidence ; and for this kindness the Indians "expressed hearty and sincere thanks." Miss Gregg also continued her labors as teacher ; and in one of her letters written in 1827, she mentions an instance of christian liberality which is seldom surpassed, and indeed seldom equaled among any people.

It had been the wish of many that the land appropriated to the use of the *Missionary* should be given to his daughter, who had remained with him until his death, and since then married the Rev. S. Churchill of New Lebanon. But there was much confusion ; evil influences were abundantly at work, and all was sold. "They are a nation," says Miss G. "scattered and peeled, and trodden under foot of others, and like the ancient Israelites, worst of all, divided among themselves." In this state of things, a report reached them that the church and mission house were to be sold at auction, and appropriated to some profane use ; and Mrs.

Lydia Hendrick, the wife of Capt. Hendrick Aupaumut, went immediately to Albany, unattended, in the hope of rescuing what she held so dear. There she hired white men to bid for her, and paid from her own purse the price of the church, besides a *premium* of \$100, exacted of her by the human *forms* which she had hired, before they would relinquish what was of right her own. The mission house she could not obtain. On her return to New Stockbridge, she newly dressed the pulpit and window, from her own funds, and furnished bark for the stove, prepared by her own hands. Her husband was Chief of the Tribe; and faithful to the duties of the office as explained in his History of his people, the church was let to whites even, free of all rent, until the removal of the Hendricks to Green Bay. This removal took place in September, 1829. Several others left at the same time; Mr. Miner and Miss Gregg were already there, she, married to a gentleman who kept a store for the Indians. And here seems to close the History of New Stockbridge.



SECTION XXIII.

GATHERING AT GREEN BAY.

HAVING now traced the history of the tribe while resident in New York, we will turn to the west, and watch the Indians as they gather in their new home — or rather collect, and pitch their tents, to wait the next cry of the white man, “Onward! onward! the country is yet too straight for *us*!”

About nine years were spent in the removal. The object of the Ogden Land Company was to induce all the New York Indians to emigrate; and as some steadily refused to do so, confusion and discord reigned throughout the whole body; and the uncertainty which hung over their prospects at the west, necessarily produced unquiet there. The Stockbridges were perhaps as exempt from trouble as any tribe, if not more quiet than their neighbors, and they

obtained for their land, it is said, all that they asked ; but all letters dated within that time seem to have been written under circumstances of turmoil and distress. Yet, "though cast down," they were "not destroyed." In a letter from John Metoxin—as the name is now spelled—dated "Cades, Green Bay, Dec. 2, 1823," after speaking of his deep regard for Mr. Sergeant, and for his old home in New York, he mentions the arrival of a new band, and adds—"I apprehend that I can tell you a pleasing news : that our brethren appear to be quite different from what they were when I first saw them. I trust that some of them are choosing God for their portion, remembering that he is the only source of true happiness for the immortal soul, and grieving because they have forsaken the only King of the universe. Some of them express an unwillingness to continue here—that is, to obey the things of this world—for they find no rest in this sinful world. It is true, indeed, as we all know, the soul that was made *for* God, can find no happiness but *in* God ; it came *from* God, and can never be happy but in returning to him again. Thus we may have reason to believe that the Spirit of the Lord is moving upon them, saying, 'Arise ye, and depart, for this is not your rest. If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God, &c. &c.'"—for like his brethren and sisters, Mr. M. seems to have been fluent in the scriptures. He then tells his aged Pastor how he and Mrs. Metoxin first contrived to introduce the subject of religion to their backsliding brethren, whom they found were in deep waters, being particularly grieved that they had exposed themselves to err by the use of ardent spirits, and ready, in the humility of soul, to begin again the christian life. And here we see a trait which is very often developed in the character of these simple-hearted people. If they have wandered far from the path of christian duty, they do not destroy what charity their brethren may still entertain for them by endeavoring to patch up an old hope ; but honestly, frankly, they cast away the past as "filthy rags," and buckle on the harness as if never worn before. We talk of the *pride* of the Indian ; he *has* pride ; but through the grace of God he can lay it at the feet of Jesus, and become as a little child, led by the silken cord of love.

May 16, 1829, the merchant and his wife being about to leave the station, the elder sisters in the church engaged Miss Q. to write for them a joint letter to the daughter of their old Pastor, each in turn dictating a few sentences. These scraps are interesting as they show in what direction the current of thought was setting at that time. "Sally," says one, "I am a spared monument of Divine Mercy. I am trying with all my might to serve the Lord, and I think I *shall* try as long as the Lord pleases to spare my life." — Mrs. C's proportion is all taken up in petitions for the forgiveness of her earthly and her heavenly friend, though for what, in particular, Mrs. Churchill did not know. "It is now two years," she says, "since I began anew." Another tells of her happiness in finding several of the youth inquiring after the Savior; another still mourns the departure of their Pastor, "who" she says "was so good, and felt so much for their never-dying souls;" and Mrs. M. breaks out with the exclamation — "I keep trying all the time!" The arrival of another band interrupted Miss Quinney, and she delivered the letter in an unfinished state to Mrs. S. who filled it out in Buffalo the *next fall*. It was then that she mentions the removal of the Hendrick and other families, the closing event in the history of the Tribe in New Stockbridge. "The people," she adds, "have much improved since leaving New York. The church consists of about 40 members, most of whom walk worthy of their profession." Mrs. S. had taught in the family Mr. Miner. Miss Quinney taught the Indians during the summer months, having been educated at the school of Miss Royce in Clinton and at other places, and Mr. Ambler, a member of the mission family, taught them in the winter.



SECTION XXIV.

NEW HOME ON LAKE WINNEBAGO.

THE settlement of the Indians was on the Fox River, about 22 miles from its entrance into the Bay. They had not been here long before the Government urged another

removal, as they were in the way of river improvements to be made upon the Fox. Accordingly, in 1833, another treaty was effected in which the Stockbridges received \$25,000, for their improvements, and two townships upon the east side of Lake Winnebago, in exchange for their wild lands ; richer soil than that on the river.

Here they lived in comparative peace until 1838, when a new emigration began to be agitated. This was beyond the Missouri River, on the tract reserved for the New York Indians. It was in this year, Jan. 15, that a treaty was made by Government, one stipulation of which was that the United States should pay to the New York Indians \$400,000 for their right to the Green Bay lands, and also convey to them 1,800,000 acres of new land beyond the State of Missouri ; a treaty most favorable to the Ogden Land Company, and the one to effect which so many and such objectionable efforts had been put forth.

The Government of the Stockbridge Tribe was at that time undergoing a change from that of Chiefs to Republicanism ; old customs were to be renounced, and new ones adopted ; and many were found unwilling to come under new and more stringent laws. Accordingly, a company of some 70 or 80 individuals disposed of their lands to the tribe, and in 1839 started for the south-west. As a body, they were those who could well be spared ; and though no exact date of their removal has been obtained, it has been credibly reported that they *started* upon the *Sabbath*. They were allowed to settle temporarily upon the lands of the Delaware Indians, five miles below Ft. Leavenworth, on the Missouri River. But diseases incidental to the climate have very much reduced them ; they have lost all their old and less hardy persons, and in the spring of 1851 numbered only 25 or 30 souls ; and these sick of their southern enterprise, and waiting only for the new treaty between Government and the Tribe to be carried into effect, when they would be ready to return to their brethren, and submit to the new regulations.

In 1842, a new trouble arose. "A disaffected party, backed by evil, designing whites, took it into their heads to become citizenized. They petitioned Congress, and before a remonstrance from the majority and better portion of the tribe, could take effect, an Act was passed making the

whole tribe citizens of the United States. Now the minority took the reins of government into their own hands, and attempted to rule the majority. They appointed commissioners to apportion the lands which before had lain in common, only so far as they were needed for use by coming generations. Tribal moneys were expended, taxes were levied, and law-suits multiplied; and ere two years elapsed the tribe was deeply involved in troubles, and fast going to ruin. The loose and dissipated sold or mortgaged their lands for little; valuable farms were sold for a quarter of a dollar per acre. To maintain law-suits, and to pay debts, the poor were compelled to mortgage or sell: the whole tribe could sue, or be sued: families were at variance with families: church members could no longer meet as brethren:" and in this state matters remained until 1846, when Congress proposed another Act, repealing the citizenizing Act of 1843, and restoring the Indian portion to their former rights and customs. The disaffected party, 60 or 70 in number, of course did not submit; and they still remain citizens of the United States, having all the civil *rights* of white citizens, though not always our privileges, and they are, by their own act, cut off from any rights peculiar to the tribe. Whatever any Government may see fit to give to the Muh-he-ka-neew Nation, *plainly*, is not given to them. And this distinction between Indian Tribes, as such, and citizens of the United States, must be borne in mind, that we may rightly judge of a question which soon comes up in their history.

It had been the wish of the Tribal part of the church, by far the majority of that body, either to repair their house of worship, or to erect a new one. Rev. J. Slingerland, adopted son of Mr. Quinney, having received a Theological education at Bangor, Me., had been laboring among them for some time, and after a journey to the east, was prepared to take the entire charge of them as Pastor. Being known in New England, and having friends in Stockbridge, he offered to present the case before the people of Berkshire, and solicit aid. About \$300 in money was obtained, besides books for himself, and for his Sabbath School Library; and unsolicited, a new bible was given for his pulpit, the donors being ignorant that in that respect they were well supplied.

On his return, however, Mr. Slingerland found that peace was not restored, and the tribe were contemplating a new emigration to the country west of the Mississippi, that they might live quietly by themselves ; and the money was therefore, by mutual agreement, reserved for its legitimate use whenever they should again be settled.

After the Act of 1848, restoring the laws and government of the tribe, they petitioned the New York Legislature to share with them the profits made by the re-sale of their lands in that State. This the Legislature were not bound to do by any *human* law ; but abiding by that statute "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," they "magnanimously," as Mr. Slingerland expresses it, set apart for their use one half, being a sum of \$40,000, the interest of which is to be applied to the support of the Gospel and of schools in the tribe, and for the promotion of agriculture, mechanics, and whatever else is for the public good. Of course no *citizen* of the *United States* has any claim to this bounty, *sought*, and *obtained*, by a Government, from our very birth distinct from us. Yet when the Indian citizens of Wisconsin, who had once belonged to the Muh-he-ka-neew tribe heard of it, they immediately laid claim to it as members of the body to whom it was given, and a deputation was sent to Albany in 1851, two years after the passage of the Act, to obtain its alteration or *repeal*. Three months were spent in fruitless efforts, during which time they visited Stockbridge, and endeavored to recover some portion of the old soil.* (Also, see Appendix, F.)

During their residence in Wisconsin the Indians have received the stated ministrations of the Gospel ; and, says one of their missionaries, "I have been well acquainted with the early settlements of the whites in Wisconsin and Illinois, yet never knew a people who in their early settle-

*Note. The land which the tribe as well as the citizens are desirous to reclaim, lies in the south east part of the county, and is said never to have been sold by them, but leased for a term of years, which term has expired. They have made many efforts to find the lease, but in vain.

ment manifested such attachment to the institutions of religion. It has never been our privilege to dwell with a people so distinguished for this, and so moral. The Sabbath was universally kept sacred; meetings on that and on other days were well attended; intoxicating liquors were prohibited from being brought upon their lands; the women had stated meetings for prayer, besides the Maternal Association, and a meeting for improvement in sewing, &c. Fast and Thanksgiving days were always observed as in New England. The men lived upon their farms and regarded hunting and fishing as uncertain employment. A church member who sought direction from his Bible once said to me—"I thought about going a hunting; I thought of Esau; may be I come home hungry." The rifle was laid up and he went to his field. The Word of God was studied much, and with reverence. Every family could read it. Great respect was had for their religious teachers.—There are many incidents connected with our labors among them which we love to recall; and we often felt, that could those who in days past had labored to teach them the Gospel, have anticipated the happy results, it would have made their toils and trials light indeed."

Rev. Jesse Miner was the first missionary to these Indians after their removal from New York. He visited Green Bay in 1827, and in 1828 received a regular appointment as Missionary from the American Board, and removed with his family to the station. His house stood near the Fox River, 18 miles above Green Bay. But death closed his labors in about one year after his settlement; not, however, until the Spirit had set several seals to his ministry. Mr. Ambler also, the teacher who has been mentioned, was obliged the next year to leave on account of ill health, and died in a few months at one of the Choctaw Missions. In 1829 Mr. Jedediah Stevens and wife were sent by the Board as teachers, and the same year Rev. Cutting Marsh was appointed as Pastor, the £50 being still sent annually to the Board from Scotland, for the maintenance of the mission. Mr. Stephens and family remained but a few years; and after his departure he was ordained as a minister, and still labors in Wisconsin as a Home Missionary. In 1834 Rev Chauncey Hall, from whom the religious history of the tribe in Wisconsin is chiefly obtained, joined the Mis-

sion with his wife, having previously been connected with the Mackinaw Mission. This was just as the Indians were removing from Grand Kakalin, on the east side of Fox River, to a new tract on the east of Winnebago Lake.—That year Mr. Marsh was, at the request of the church, appointed by the American Board to accompany a deputation to visit the Sacs and Foxes west of the Mississippi, as they wished to make it a missionary visit, and one which would promote the objects of the Board. They desired permission also, to promise their brethren a missionary. At the same time Dr. Williamson was sent by the Society to examine as to the feasibility of establishing a mission in that region. Mr. Kingsbury and Mr. Byington, from a southern station, were also on a tour to the north-west, and by mutual information and council they formed the plan of the Dakota Mission. The circumstance is mentioned in the History of that Mission, published by the S. S. Union, and an account of the interview by Mr. B. has been likewise published *There*, so far from the land of their *nativity*, he and John Metoxin met as soldiers of the Cross, both out as scouts in the enemy's country, and together they observed the Monthly Concert of Prayer.

But to return to Winnebago. A few trees were cut down, and temporary cabins erected, and then the families of the Indians, together with Mr. and Mrs. Hall, removed thither. In a few weeks Mr. Hall's house was so far completed that meetings could be held in it; and soon after the return of the delegation, the church assembled in his "upper room," and there commemorated the dying love of the Saviour. "It was," says Mr. Hall, "an interesting season. In that wilderness, so far from their early home, to be *thus assemb'ed*, and on *such an occasion*. Did not the sainted spirits of their early teachers rejoice over such a scene." A church was soon erected, \$580 having been subscribed for that object. Mr. Hall mentions one individual whom he found on going to reside at Green Bay, whose history was peculiarly interesting to him. "The tribe," he observes, "left New England to pass through trials and temptations. Had not the truths of the Gospel taken deep root in their hearts, they would have been destroyed by the unhappy influences around them. I lived in my early years, near their home in New York.—

They were most unhappily exposed to temptation in intoxication. Their young men perished from its effects. Professing christians, and those too who had a respectable standing in the church, dealt out the poison to them. Sad scenes were the result. A party of young men intoxicated, once came to my father's dwelling, broke in our windows, and threatened our lives; and with the greatest difficulty my father kept them from entering the house until I ran half a mile for aid, and our neighbors came to our relief.—When I went to Green Bay I found the man who was the principal actor in that scene, a *humble christian*, and he had been for several years a leading man in the temperance reform.” With what feelings of joy, gratitude and adoring love, must he have sat down to the communion table with that trophy of the Cross! and he lets us as Stockbridgeans into a portion of his joy, when he adds—“That this man was saved from ruin, we may ascribe to the blessing of God on the efforts of that christian church formed by the early missionaries.”

Once while residing here, Mr. H. had occasion to call upon an Indian before daylight, and obtain his company in a trip across the Lake. The family were all still in bed when they left; but the father did not enter upon the duties of the day without enjoying, upon his knees, the accustomed season of morning devotion. After the death of Mr. Miner, there was no season of special refreshing in the New Stockbridge Church until the winter of 1836, and 7. First then was poured upon them “a spirit of *grace* and of *supplication* and a *deep feeling* for the *souls* of their children. Then prayer was *answered*, and efforts were crowned with *success*. Many gave evidence of true repentance and faith, and enlisted under the banner of Jesus.—This was the season of the conversion of Mr., S. their present pastor.

In 1837, in consequence of the embarrassments of the American Board, Mr. and Mrs. Hall left New Stockbridge, and established a school near the Bay, and thus supported themselves, while at the same time they could still benefit the Indians. But from this post also, ill health obliged them to retire in a few years; and Mr. H. now resides in Utica, being supported by the churches in that city, and commissioned by the American Tract Society to labor in des-

titute portions of that county and among the boatmen. Mr. Marsh remained at New Stockbridge until the return of Mr. Slingerland from the east in the autumn of 1849, when he resigned the pastoral charge to him.

Mr. S. labors diligently, both for the temporal and spiritual welfare of his people, and even his enemies, it would seem, "find no evil thing to say of him." In his absence upon public business, they employ a white pastor.

Some 18 or 20 years since, the Rev. Walter Colton visited the Stockbridge Indians, and in his published "Travels" commented at considerable length upon their reverence for the bibles given by Dr. Ayscough, carefully preserved in all their wanderings, and still used in their worship. A German Stadtholder, 90 years of age, into whose hands the work of Mr. Colton fell, was equally delighted with the fact, and immediately ordered from London 12 of the most splendid bibles which could be procured, with permission to the Indians that they should if they wished, share them with other tribes. The bibles were duly received, a few were given away, and the others are kept for the use of the aged in church. A long address was written in each by the donor.

The settlement on the Lake is eight miles long, and four wide. It is chiefly divided into farms, on which are built houses, generally of logs; the unsettled state of the Tribe having prevented that attention to architecture which might have been expected in more favorable circumstances. These houses are, however, comfortably finished, and well furnished in "European style;" and in some respects they have *more* of the air of comfort than is usually found among western people, seeming to betoken the Yankee origin of their owners. Fruit is little cultivated; for the Poor Indian cannot hope to remain long enough on one spot to sit under his own vine and fig-tree. The foot of the white man presses upon him, and he must take up his line of march towards the setting sun, leaving all that he has planted for the stranger. "Ye shall plant, and another shall eat," is poor encouragement for the horticulturist, unless he has a larger share of benevolence than is usually developed in the human character. The school-houses of the Indians are, like their own dwellings, of logs. They consist of one room; their own language has gone

very nearly out of use for want of a native literature, and the English only is taught. The pupils study Grammar, Arithmetic, Geography, Natural Philosophy, &c.

At present they have no newspaper of their own, but are subscribers to those published by whites. They have, however, the prospect of receiving a newspaper Editor and Printer from the Cherokee Nation, who has married a distinguished Muh-he-ka-neew woman; and if so, he will establish a paper as soon as circumstances will permit.

In May, 1851, the Tribe, including the little band in Missouri, numbered 235. Those who had become citizenized were 71. The Temperance cause still flourished, though individuals were found who had not renounced the poisonous cup. The Sabbath was better observed by the Indians than by the whites settled among them. The Sabbath School varies from thirty to eighty in the number of its attendants, and is conducted by themselves. The Monthly Concert, the Maternal Association, and one or two weekly meetings were sustained. The Maternal Association was formed about twenty years since, and Mrs. Hall mentions two mothers who walked miles to attend its meetings, one on her crutches, and the other with an infant at her back. A Bible Society has been for several years in operation, and many of the Tribe have made themselves Life Members. The Officers of Government were John W. Quinney, Sachem—elected for three years; Joseph M. Quinney, John P. Quinney, Peter D. Littleman, John Yocum, and John Slingerland, Counsellors—chosen for one year; and two Path-Masters, two Peace-Makers, one Sheriff, and one Treasurer. In 1852, the present year, Joseph Quinney holds the office of Sachem.

The character of the Tribe, as given by the Green Bay Advertiser in 1849, is that of intelligent people, as good farmers as any in the State, generally members of some religious denomination, and desired as neighbors by the people among whom they go, and it wishes them "success in their new home."

Others, who have had opportunity to make observations during the past summer, (that of 1851,) bear a similar testimony.

SECTION XXV.

LAST REMOVAL.—MINNESOTA.

It has been observed that the Indians, in 1848, found a new remove to be necessary, before they could quietly enjoy their own laws. A Treaty was effected with the United States during the autumn of that year, in which our Government agree to pay the Tribe \$33,000 for their wild lands in Wisconsin, and \$14,500 for their improvements, \$20,000 in ten annual installments, and two townships of good *wild* land in Minnesota, of their own selection. To this they are to be removed at the expense of Government, two years being given them in which to make the change; and while in Wisconsin they have the use of everything sold, as if all was still their own. They are also to be subsisted at Governmental expense one year after their arrival. An exploring expedition visited the country during the summer of 1849, consisting of Mr. Slingerland, Austin E. Quinney, Elisha and Joel Konkapot, and Moses, Charles, and Thomas Snake, and the situation selected was one at the mouth of Vermillion River. Mr. Bruce, the Sub-Indian-Agent, arrived at Stockbridge at the close of the summer, and in "a day or two" they were all paid. As however, the land belonged to the Dakotas, they could not immediately remove. During the summer of 1851, a "great Treaty" was made by the United States with that Tribe at Traverse de Sioux, by which our Government obtained 21,000,000 acres of excellent land, out of which the Muh-he-ka-ne-ok are to be supplied. Three of the tribe attended the treaty, and unexpectedly, but to the gratification of both parties, met there two individuals from Stockbridge who had valuable letters of introduction to Colonel Lea, the Commissioner, and bespoke his special favor in behalf of the Stockbridge Indians. They speak in high terms of those whom they met, and describe the astonishment of the still savage Indians when they saw those of their own race associating on terms of equality with the

whites, and, in every respect, save color, strictly resembling them; and none of our own pale blood were more disgusted with the squalid barbarism of the Dakotas, than were the Muh-he-ka-neew Indians. A letter published in the New York Observer in 1830, is to the point *here*, not less than when we were speaking of the treaties of that period. It was written by an American who attended the Council held at Green Bay, August 24th, and onward, of that year. After speaking of the other tribes present, the members of which were sitting, standing, lying about, unwashed, uncombed, and often in a state of nudity, he says: "But there was another group, called Indians, sitting by themselves, whose dress, manners, countenance, and whole appearance exhibited all the decencies of common civilized life. They looked and acted like men, who respected themselves, and would be respected by others. Their presence and demeanor would not have been unsuited to any grave parliamentary assembly. These were the New York Indians. I had often seen them at their own villages in the State of New York, but I had never known how to respect them before; and during the whole session of the council, a period of eight days, they rose higher and higher, and their wild brethren sunk deeper and deeper, by comparison. The difference was wider than would appear between the highest rank, and the meanest class in Europe. I have found it a refuge, and a luxury, to fall into the society of the Chiefs and principal men of the New York Indians. Among them, I could be sure of exemption from anything vulgar, profane, indecent, or intemperate."

After this testimony to the happy results of missionary labor, the writer speaks of a speech delivered by "John Metoxin to the Menomenies and Winnebagos, and also to the Commissioners, on the last day of the council," which had accomplished *nothing*. This he calls "most sublime and touching, and in its respect and delicacy towards the feelings of all concerned, unrivalled." "Metoxin," says he, "is about sixty years of age, an exemplary Christian, of uncommon meekness, and a chief ruler in the civil and religious concerns of his tribe. By his language and manner, he first brought us all into the presence of God, so that we felt ourselves to be there. He then appealed to

the solemn engagements between the New York Indians on the one hand, and the Menomenies and Winnebagos on the other; he called the Commissioners to witness the repeated and solemn pledges of government to secure the fulfilment of these engagements; he depicted the unfortunate progress and result of the present council; with inimitable delicacy, and with becoming manliness, he feelingly confessed his diffidence in the present measures of government relating to this affair; solemnly declared that his only confidence now rested in the God of nations, who had propounded himself the guardian of the oppressed, and the avenger of their wrongs; and whatever might become of himself, his family, and his people, he felt that it was now his last and only prerogative, to surrender their cause into the hands of this God. "*God is witness*;" said he, lifting up his eyes to heaven; "Brothers, I have no more to say." And with this, the public deliberations terminated, and the council was dissolved."

Since the foregoing history was written, a Memorial has been received, presented to Congress April 12, 1852, by John W. Quinney, which throws light upon several periods, and contains new and valuable information. The reader will find the substance of this document in the Appendix under the division (G.)

Mr. Quinney, having been moved with the Tribe twice, and much employed by them on public business which has kept him from home, in all five years and some months, and taken him nine times to Washington, wishes to be allowed to spend the remainder of his days in Wisconsin; and, though opposed from principle to the citizenization of the whole Tribe, yet, as he will thus lose the protection of *their* laws, and be a community by himself, he wishes to be admitted as a citizen of the Union. He also prays that the Tribe may be permitted to remunerate, in a degree, his many services by allowing him a portion of what *he* has obtained for them as a Nation.

SECTION XXVI.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF INDIANS.

CAPT. JOHN KONKAPOT AND FAMILY.

THE character of Capt. Konkapot has been often brought out in the preceding annals. His influence as a founder of the Mission here will not be limited to this world, but extend to the ages of eternity, a happy, *happy* eternity to him. He was the second member of this church, and wore well under all circumstances. Such was the influence of this mission upon other tribes, that the French Papists of Canada, while they sedulously shut out the light from their own countrymen, were compelled to open schools for the Indians, to prevent their secession to the English. Certainly a more fitting memorial should be preserved of Capt. Konkapot than the sluggish, filthy stream which *once* bore his name, but is *now* called "Konks," and even, by strangers, "Skunk's Brook." Its Indian name is Se-poh-sah, or perhaps more properly Se-poe-se, which means Little River. May it not again be known by that? and the name of the noble Indian, whose heart gathered greenness even amid the frosts and snows of heathenism, be perpetuated by the evergreen hill to the south?

The wife of Capt. Konkapot died of consumption, March 29, 1741, having enjoyed "during her sickness a good hope, through grace, of a happy eternity."

Catharine Konkapot died in January 1746, "hope raising her above the fears of death." John received a public education, and his *son* John was educated by the Moravians. Jacob was a prosperous farmer in New York State, employing white laborers in his work. Soon after the removal to Green Bay, he built a large mill; and while employed alone in the woods, received a wound of which he died. Both Jacob, and his son Robert, were distinguished in the tribe.

CAPT. NIMHAM'S FAMILY.

THE death of the father and son at White Plains has been mentioned. The widow lived to an advanced age, and used to express her fear that her Heavenly Father had forgotten her, and would leave her to live always. After her death, her daughter Lucretia, a woman distinguished for her beauty, and for her goodness, married Jacob Konkapot. She was his second wife, and had no children. On her death-bed she made her will, and then said that she had "nothing to do but to die." Her death was triumphant. Mr. Parmelee, who was with her, observed that he never saw any one else so happy in the prospect of dissolution.

LIEUT. UMPACHENEE AND WIFE.

LIEUT. Umpachenee, a man of clear, deep intellect, and pleasant humor, was, in early life, addicted to intemperance, and was overtaken once in this fault soon after his baptism. Again, later in life, he fell into sin, and for nearly two years gave the church much trouble. But he seemed at length to be humbled, and continued to walk worthy of his profession until his death, which occurred before that of his pastor. His wife was the daughter of E-to-wau-kaum, a distinguished chief, who visited England in the days of Queen Anne. She died July 14, 1741, "with a comfortable hope, spending her last moments in exhorting her husband and children to godliness." Mr. Sergeant often spoke of her as a virtuous, and valuable woman; and she expressed herself "content to die, hoping by that means to be free from sin which was now her burden." If life were to be continued, she dreaded its temptations. This family is now known by the name of Aupauchinau.

THE QUINNEY FAMILY.

THIS family seems to have been more distinguished during the whole course of their history as Stockbridge

Indians, than any other. First, there was Joseph Quinney, son of John Quinney, who declined the office of Chief Sachem in 1777, "a very modest, unassuming, sensible man," and his wife, spoken of as a "venerable, good woman." After them were Dea. Joseph Quinney, John W. Quinney, born in 1797, and educated at York Town, West Chester County, New York, under governmental patronage; Lydia Quinney, (the wife of Capt. Hendrick Aupaumut,) who distinguished herself in the affair of the church edifice at New Stockbridge, New York, of whom Mr. Hall writes—"She was a godly woman. Few such mothers in Israel bless our Churches;" Jane Quinney, the wife of Andrew Miller, and mother of Mrs. John Metoxin; Elizabeth Quinney, the wife of Jacob Seth; Catharine Quinney, the wife of Solomon Aupaumut; "a woman of peculiar sweetness of temper;" and Eve Quinney, the name of whose husband we are unable to give. Also Electa Quinney, who first married a Methodist Clergyman, a Mohawk, but at the time of their marriage, missionary to the Oneidas. Afterwards he removed to the west, and became pastor to a band of Senecas. "He was an intelligent and pious man." His name was Daniel Adams. After his death, Mrs. Adams became the wife of a Cherokee Editor, who has engaged to return with his wife to her own people, provided he can pursue his vocation among them. This will probably lead to the establishment of a newspaper of their own. The mother of these was a daughter of David Nau-nau-neek-nuk. The two Mrs. Aupaumuts, and Mrs. Seth, were the principal women in the Tribe while in New York. John Metoxin has held both offices, that of Chief, and that of Deacon. He is still living.

THE AUPAUMUT FAMILY.

CAPT. Hendrick Aupaumut, according to a common custom in the Tribe, dropped the Indian name, Aupaumut, and was known as Capt. Hendrick. Since then, *Hendrick* has been the Sur-name of the family. He never professed religion it would seem, but he appeared to *possess* it, and was ever the firm friend of its institutions and its ministers. In personal appearance, "his gait," says one, "and his demeanor, appeared like royalty." He was truly eloquent,

and by this, and his authority alone, he was *able* to conquer. He was often employed as interpreter; and in this capacity his "strong memory, his clear, lucid manner, and his mind illumined face," as he conveyed the thoughts of a preacher to his people, are highly praised. His public speeches are spoken of as "always remarkable for perspicuity and sound sense." "I have," says our informant, "seen many Indian Chiefs, but never his equal."

In 1810, Capt. Hendrick was on the White River, with his son Abner, and designed to have settled on the land given the Stockbridges by the Miamis. He formed the plan of collecting all the eastern Indians in that region, where they might live in peace with the whites, and in fellowship with each other, and, he *hoped*, be no farther wasted. He had sent a speech to his people upon the subject in 1809, and was waiting anxiously for a reply. "I think," says he, "a kind Providence blesses the means for so desirable an end. I often wish to be at home, to see what my people are doing; that is, when my weakness overpowers for some anxious care for our National business at home, lest they hasten to destruction of our National honor and prosperity, as well as our existence. But when I consider the promises of the Great and Good Spirit, then I would cheerfully cast all my care upon him."

It was at this time that Tecumseh, and his brother, the Prophet, were plotting against our government. The Prophet had been sending forth his "divine" instructions since early in 1806, forbidding witchcraft, intemperance, and other vices, but forbidding also the christian forms of worship. His followers were numerous, and widely scattered from New York to the Mississippi River, and several persons had been put to death for nonconformity. The opinion of the Shawanoes was, that the Lord of Life had created their nation from his brains, and given to them his wisdom; that this being forfeited by vice, the Americans, who were created from his hands, had received it, and not content, were either taking the lands of the Indians by force, or purchasing them with goods not truly theirs, because manufactured with *borrowed skill*. By reformation it was believed that they might regain a right to all the "Long Knives" possessed; and being provoked by repeated injuries, the followers of the Chieftain and the

Prophet were resolved to unite all in a league which should forever put an end to pale faced aggression.

Here then was another temptation to Capt. Hendrick. The plan of union was in some respects similar to his own, and there was much in the noble nature of Tecumseh to win, and in the cunning of the Prophet to entrap. But he loved the white man who had brought the Gospel to his people, he loved its transforming influence upon them, and we must believe he loved Him whose Gospel it was that brought "life and immortality to light;" and, burying all the wrongs of his race in the bottom of the sea, he united, with all the characteristic ardor of his nature, in the cause of America. In this he was joined by the *Delawares*, a proof that the Gospel is the cheapest, and most powerful armament which a nation can employ against its barbarous foes.

Every thing was done to keep back the Indians from the alliance of the brothers, which the peace party were able to effect, as well as to restrain and dissuade the leaders; and Mr. Sergeant, in a letter to the Commissioners says—"It appears that through the judicious arrangements of Capt. Hendrick, the influence of the Prophet is nearly at an end." Capt. Hendrick himself says that the head men of the various tribes do not join him, but only the ignorant and unwary; that the Message of the Delawares had already shut his mouth, and he believed that in the course of the next summer he would "be brought down from the Wabash, to the ground from which his ancestors were created." And so it proved. We find nothing in the published histories of those times respecting Capt. Hendrick; but we do find that the fatal battle of Tippecanoe was hazarded, because the already waning power of the Prophet required some desperate act; and the eloquence of Capt. Hendrick, his influence as a Muh-he-ka-neew Chief with the western Indians, and the information communicated by Mr. Sergeant, take us "behind the scenes," and show us at least *one great cause* of that waning. All due honor to the *Hero* of Tippecanoe; but let not the faithful Stockbridge Indian, who, by sapping and mining, *prepared the way* for that victory, be forgotten.

War with England was soon declared. Tecumseh had evidently been encouraged by the British, and he joined

their forces, and fell at the battle of the Thames, October 5, 1813. The Prophet retired west of the Mississippi, and lived upon a pension from Great Britain, until 1834. Capt. Hendrick joined the American army, was favorably noticed, and promoted to office. Afterward he returned to New York, and was one of the last to remove to Green Bay.

When Capt. Hendrick became infirm, Solomon, his youngest son, was appointed to succeed him, a youth of great promise. But he soon died, and was succeeded by John Metoxin. John, another son, much beloved, the chorister, and at one time, the Town Clerk, was murdered by Anthony, an Oneida, who had murdered six persons, including his own child. It was not long, we believe, before the removal of the tribe, and when they had not sufficient force to take the murderer. But the whites came to their help; and having seized, delivered him up to the Indians, who tried, and executed him.

SAMPSON OCCUM.

He was born at Mohegan, on the Thames, about the year 1723, of heathen parents, but obtained a little knowledge of reading. In 1739 and 1740, during a revival of religion, efforts were made for the salvation of the Indians, and young Occum became a subject of renewing grace. He soon learned to read, and having spent four years at the Lebanon School, he went to Long Island, and instructed the Montauk and Skenecoke Indians. Many of the Montauks were hopefully converted through his instrumentality. He lived in a log hut, and supported himself by binding old books for people in East Hampton, making wooden spoons, buckets, churns, &c.. In 1759 he was ordained by the Suffolk Presbytery, and in 1766 was sent to England with Mr. Whitaker, minister of Norwich, to obtain funds for the endowment of Dartmouth College. He was the first Indian who had ever preached in that country, and he was everywhere received with enthusiasm. The funds were raised, Lebanon School was removed to Hanover, and became a College. Occum returned in 1767, and resided generally at Mohegan with his family, until 1786, when he removed to Oneida with the remnants

of various tribes, and settled near New Stockbridge. They were called Brother Town Indians, from their peculiar formation as a Tribe. The last year of his life was spent at New Stockbridge. He died July, 1792, aged 69. The Brothertowns removed to Green Bay, and again settled near the Stockbridge Indians, but have now become citizenized, and will not probably remove with them to Minnesota.



SECTION XXVII.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

INDIVIDUALS PARTICULARLY ENGAGED IN ESTABLISHING AND SUSTAINING THE STOCKBRIDGE MISSION.

REV. SAMUEL HOPKINS.

WE have examined the *Building*; and those who have been interested in watching its rise, will not be *uninterested* in the character and fate of its *Builders*. And among them Mr. Hopkins stands pre-eminent. He was born in Waterbury, Connecticut, and is supposed to have descended from Edward Hopkins, Esq., one of the early Governors of Connecticut Colony. His father was a man of exemplary piety, and died in 1732. Samuel graduated at Yale in 1718, and was married, June 28, 1727, to Miss Esther Edwards of East Windsor, sister of the elder President E. In January, 1720, he had received a call to settle in the ministry at West Springfield, as second pastor, which he accepted, and his Ordination took place the first day of June of the same year. There he continued to labor, esteemed as eminently prudent and faithful, until his sudden death, October 6, 1755, at the age of 61. During this time, besides corresponding extensively with distinguished clergymen, he wrote fifteen hundred sermons, and compiled, and published the records of the Housatonic Mission, with historical and biographical additions from his own

pen. His people inscribed his epitaph, which commemorates his "sound judgment, solid learning, candor, piety, sincerity, constancy, and universal benevolence."

REV. NEHEMIAH BULL.

MR. Bull graduated at Yale College in 1823, and during the winter of 1724 and '5, taught School in Westfield. In February, the Town voted to hire him one half of the Sabbath as assistant to Mr. Taylor, their much esteemed pastor, and allow him Friday and Saturday to prepare; his school duties to be performed on the other four days of the week as before. At the close of his school, he was hired to preach half of the time for six months; and in October 1726 he was ordained as pastor, having again opened his school, and he continued preaching and teaching through the season. He was married in February, 1728, to Miss Elizabeth Partridge of Hatfield, and died April 12, 1740, aged 38. His children were William, John P., Justin, Elizabeth, Oliver, and Nehemiah. As the *founder* of our *Church*, his name stands *next* in *our* history, to that of Mr. Hopkins. In *his own* parish he seems to have labored acceptably, and with success, though a few individuals became dissatisfied a short time before his death. One of the last records which he entered on the Church Books was that of a meeting for the adjustment of these difficulties. The number of persons admitted to the church by him was 226. His native place is believed to be on Long Island.

REV. BENJAMIN COLMAN, D. D.

DR. Colman was born in Boston, October 19, 1673, and graduated at Cambridge in 1692. He preached a short time in America, and then sailed for England, but was taken prisoner by a French privateer, and, having been clothed in rags, was thrust into the hold. On reaching France, he spent a little money which he had secreted, in procuring decent raiment; and being soon liberated, by exchange of prisoners, he proceeded to England. There he was the associate of Howe, Calamy, Mrs. Rowe, and others of a kindred spirit.

He preached in Cambridge, and in Bath; but about the year 1698, was invited to return and become pastor of the new church, who were building their house of worship in Brattle street. The views and practice of this church differed somewhat from others in New England, being more inclined to the Episcopal body in their mode of worship, and the admission of members. Fearing objections on this side of the water, the church desired Dr. Colman to be ordained before his return; and the ceremony took place in London, August 11, 1699. He arrived in this country November 1, and opened the new church December 24.

In 1724 or 5, Dr. Colman was chosen to the Presidency of Harvard, but declined the office. He died August 29, 1747, aged 73.

In doctrine, Dr. Colman was strictly orthodox, and dwelt much in his preaching upon the Deity, and vicarious sufferings of Christ; but upon the subject of church fellowship, he differed from the orthodox congregationalists of the present day. He was one of the earliest pastors of that denomination who considered all baptized persons as church members, and invited them to partake of the communion; an innovation which settled down into the "Half way Covenant," or "Stoddardean Practice," and filled the Puritan churches with unregenerate persons.

GOV. JONATHAN BELCHER.

GOVERNOR Belcher was the *son* of one Andrew Belcher of Cambridge, and the *grandson* of another. His grandmother was Anna, the daughter of Nicholas Danforth, a distinguished defender of the Puritans, and sister of Governor Danforth. Jonathan was born in 1681, and graduated at Harvard in 1699. He traveled extensively in Europe for the purpose of perfecting his education, and during the six years thus spent, maintained the consistency of his religious profession. The personal acquaintance formed during this tour with the Princess Sophia and her son, George Second, laid the foundation for his future honors. After his return, he settled as a merchant in Boston, but was sent to the Court of Great Britain in 1729, and in 1730 succeeded Burnett in the government of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, which office he held eleven

years. His dismissal was obtained by false accusations ; and having plead his own cause before the King, he was promised the first vacancy. This proved to be New Jersey, and he entered upon his duties there in 1747. He greatly promoted the peace and prosperity of the Colony, and did very much for the College. He died at Elizabeth Town, August 31, 1757, aged 76.

COL. JOHN STODDARD.

COLONEL Stoddard was the son of Rev. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton, and was born February 17, 1682. He married Miss Prudence Chester of Wethersfield, and had six children — Mary, Prudence, Solomon, Esther, Israel, and Hannah. He was much engaged in public business, and had charge of the western frontier. He died June 19, 1748, while a member of the General Court.

CAPTAIN KELLOG AND MRS. ASHLEY.

MARTIN and Rebecca Kellog, the son and daughter of Martin Kellog, were, with their father, taken captive by the Indians, February 29, 1704, being then inhabitants of Deerfield. Another brother and sister were taken at the same time. Martin was born October 26, 1686, and Rebecca December 2, 1695. Martin married Dorothy Chester, and settled in Newington, a parish of Wethersfield, where he died in November 1753, aged 67. Rebecca married Mr. Benjamin Ashley. She was frequently employed as interpreter by missionaries, and died at one of the Indian towns, the same year that she left Stockbridge with Mr. Hawley. Captain Kellog "was remarkable for bodily strength, and firmness of mind," and endured the sufferings incident to *various* seasons of captivity. Both brother and sister possessed a good knowledge of the Indian languages.

REV. GIDEON HAWLEY.

MR. Hawley was a native of Connecticut, and a graduate of Yale College in 1749. He came to Stockbridge in February 1752, and not only taught, but preached to the foreign Indians. In May, 1753, he set out on a visit to

the Oneidas, at Onohquaga, on the Susquehanna, and having obtained the patronage of Sir W. Johnson, established a mission there. But he was broken up by the French war, and enlisted as Chaplain to the Indians. He was ordained at Boston, July 31, 1754, and returned to Stockbridge immediately afterward. Subsequently he settled at Marshpee, 1758, where he died, October 3, 1807, aged 80.

REV. WILLIAM WILLIAMS.

REV. William Williams of Hatfield, was another follower of the Half-way-Covenant practice, though he did not, like his sons, take up his pen in its defense.

He was the son of Isaac, and grandson of Robert Williams, and was born in Newton, February 2, 1665. He graduated at Harvard in 1683, and settled at Hatfield in 1685, where he died, August 29, 1741. His first wife was a daughter of Dr. Cotton, and his second a daughter of Rev. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton. It is a curious circumstance, that this lady was the *youngest* daughter of the family, while his *son*, Rev. William Williams of Weston, married the *eldest* daughter. Mr. Williams was considered by Dr. Chauncey to be a greater man than Mr. Stoddard. In deportment, he was "humble and condescending," says one, while at the same time, he "commanded peculiar awe and respect." Among his sons may be mentioned Elisha, Rector of Yale for a time, but afterwards much employed in offices of trust, by Great Britain. Hon. William Williams, one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, was a grandson.

REV. STEPHEN WILLIAMS, D. D.

DR. Williams, born May 14, 1693, was the great-grandson of Robert, and the son of Rev. John Williams, the "Redeemed Captive." He was, himself, one of the captives, and, being redeemed, returned to Boston, November 21, 1705. He graduated at Harvard in 1713, and was ordained as the first pastor of Long Meadow, October 17, 1716, where he died, June 10, 1782, aged 88. His wife was Abigail, daughter of Rev. John Davenport of Stamford, Connecticut. They were married July 3, 1718, and

had seven sons, all of whom followed their father to his grave. Dr. Williams served as Chaplain in three campaigns, and in that capacity was with Col. Ephraim Williams at Lake George.



SECTION XXVIII.

EARLY FAMILIES.

The four families who settled here with Mr. Sergeant and Mr. Woodbridge, and a few who soon followed, may well receive, together with their immediate posterity, a particular notice; and in this genealogical era of the world, their *ancestry*, so far as it is known, must not be overlooked.

TIMOTHY WOODBRIDGE, ESQ., AND FAMILY.

THE Woodbridges were descended from a line of protestant clergymen by the name of JOHN WOODBRIDGE, the first of whom was born about the time of the discovery of America, and the fifth of whom married the daughter of REV. ROBERT PARKER, and settled in Stanton, Wiltshire, England. Mr. Parker is called by Mather, "one of the greatest scholars in the English Nation, and in some sort the father of all Nonconformists of our day." Besides *Mrs. Woodbridge*, he had a son, Rev. *Thomas Parker*, first pastor of Newbury, Massachusetts, a man greatly distinguished for learning and piety, who died in April, 1677, aged about 81, and at least one daughter, the wife of Mr. Noyce, Puritan minister of Choulderton, Wiltshire, England.

Both Mr. Woodbridge and his wife were much esteemed, and their son JOHN imitated their virtues, and, like them, embraced the Puritan Faith. For this he was expelled from college, (Oxford,) and his uncle being then about to seek a home in the New World, he embarked with him, and arrived in Newbury in 1634. On the death of his father, about eight years afterwards, he went over to Eng-

land, and having settled the estate, brought back his brother *Benjamin*, who became one of the first graduates of Harvard, returned to England, succeeded Dr. Twiss at Newbury, in that country, and gained a high reputation for native talent, for learning and for piety; but was ejected with the mass of Puritan Divines in 1662, after which he ministered more privately, until his death at Inglefield, November 1, 1684. Another brother left England with John W., but died during the passage.

When the Woodbridges reached America, the town of Andover was newly settled, and John was ordained as one of its pastors, September 16, 1644. In 1647, however, he was induced to return once more to his native country, where, after acting as Chaplain to the Commissioners, treating with the King at the Isle of Wight, he was employed at Andover first, and then at Burford, St. Martins, in Wiltshire. But in 1662, he also was ejected, and in 1663 he came again to America, bringing with him his wife and twelve children. He was soon settled at Newbury, and when, some years afterward, he retired from the ministry, he was chosen as magistrate, and continued in public business until his death, March 17, 1695, when about the age of 82. His character for patience, forgiveness, and other christian virtues, is rarely equaled.

The *wife* of Mr. Woodbridge was *Mercy Dudley*, daughter of *Thomas Dudley, Esq.* She was born September 27, 1621, came to America in 1630, was married in 1641, and died July 1, 1691, and is spoken of as a very excellent woman.

The *Dudley family* seem to have risen to power during the reign of Henry 7th, who conferred the title and estate of the Warwick family, then extinct, upon Edmond Dudley, a celebrated lawyer, and a Speaker in the House of Commons, born in 1442, and executed by request of the people, who hated him, in 1510. *John*, his son, became Duke of Northumberland, and was the father of *Ambrose*, styled "The good Earl of Warwick," Lord *Guilford*, (the husband of Lady Jane Grey,) *Robert*, (Earl of Leicester,) the favorite of Elizabeth, and Lord of Kenilworth Castle, and of several others. Northumberland was beheaded August 15, 1553, and with him Lord Guilford and Lady Jane.

CAPTAIN ROGER DUDLEY, who died in the service of his country, was of the same family, and of the same generation with Northumberland, but how *near* of kin is not known. He left a daughter and a son, THOMAS, who, after being educated in the family of Northampton, studied law with Judge Nichols, a relative, and commenced practice, but received a commission from Elizabeth, went for a time on to the Continent, and, after his return, married *Dorothy* —, a lady of some distinction, and settled in the vicinity of Northampton. There he became a christian, and a non-conformist. Through the influence of Lord Say and Seal, Lord Compton and others, he was soon employed by the Earl of Lincoln as Steward, and, except that he removed to Boston, and sat for a short time under the ministry of Dr. Cotton, Lincoln retained him in that office, and as his counsellor in all matters, until he sailed for the Massachusetts Bay Colony, April 7, arriving at two o'clock on Saturday, June 12, 1630. He then held the office of Lieutenant Governor, and was afterwards repeatedly chosen to that office, and to that of Governor; residing first at Cambridge, for a short time at Ipswich, but for the longest period at Roxbury. Born in 1574, he died July 31, 1653. His first wife died February 27, 1643, and previous to 1645 he married Katharine —, who survived him. The children of the first wife were—

Rev. *Samuel*, born 1606, married Mary, daughter of Governor Winthrop, settled at Exeter in 1650, died before March 20, 1683. His wife died at Salisbury, April 12, 1643.

Anne, a poet, and the wife of Governor Bradstreet, who died September 18, 1672.

Patience, who married Major General Daniel Dennison.

Mercy, Mrs. Woodbridge above mentioned, and

Sarah, who married, first, Benjamin Keayne, and second, Pacy. Those of the second wife were—

Deborah, born in Roxbury, February 27, 1645, and married to — Wade.

Joseph, (Governor,) born September 23, 1647, who married a daughter of Edward Tyng, and

Paul, and two others. One daughter married a Mr. Page.

Of the twelve children of JOHN and *Mercy* WOOD-

BRIDGE, one died young, and three were ministers, viz., *John*, *Timothy*, and *Benjamin*.

Benjamin settled first at Bristol, afterwards at Kittery, and died in Medford, January 15, 1710. He married Mary Ward of Haverhill.

Timothy, born about 1653, settled in Hartford in 1695, had three wives, and died, April 30, 1732: great grandfather of the Geographer.

John graduated in 1664, settled in Killingworth in 1666, and in Wethersfield in 1679, and died in 1692. His wife, *Abigail* —, received a pension until 1701, probably the period of her death. Two daughters of the family married clergymen, and several grandsons entered the ministry.

Among the children of *John* and *Abigail* Woodbridge were—Rev. *Dudley Woodbridge*, ordained in Simsbury, Connecticut, November 10, 1697, who married Dorothy Lamb of Roxbury, Massachusetts, and died August 3, 1710. His widow married his successor, Timothy, son of Timothy of Hartford, and had several children.

Rev. *Ephraim* Woodbridge, born June 25, 1680, who married Hannah Morgan, May 4, 1704, and settled in the ministry at Groton.

Mary, who married the Rev. Mr. Ruggles of Suffield.

JOHN, two years older than Ephraim, born in 1678, graduated in 1694, settled as the first pastor in West Springfield in 1698, and married, November 14, 1699, to *Jemima Eliot*. He died June 10, 1718. Esteemed for wisdom, learning and piety during his ministry, his death was felt to be a heavy blow to his ministerial brethren, as well as to his people. Mrs. Woodbridge survived him, and spent some of her last years with her sons, Joseph and Timothy, in Stockbridge.

JOHN ELIOT, the Indian Apostle, was the grandfather of Mrs. Woodbridge. He was born at Nasing, near London, England, in 1604; assisted the distinguished Mr. Hooker as teacher in that country, was converted while in his family, led by his advice to enter the ministry, and finally he followed him into the western wilderness, arriving November 3, 1631. He soon settled in Roxbury, having been selected by the people as their pastor while still in England, and Miss *Anne Mountfort*, a lady about his own age, having joined him according to agreement, they

were married in November, 1632. He commenced his labors among the Indians in 1646, delivering his first sermon in the hut of Waban on Nonantum hill, in Newton. The site is still known, and an oak is yet standing on the spot, which, from its size, may be supposed to have thrown its shadow upon the group assembled.

Mr. Eliot established about twenty towns of "Praying Indians," fourteen of them of such distinction as to attract attention, framed for them a code of laws, formed churches, taught them the arts of civilized life, and translated for them the Holy Scriptures. In 1687, March 22, Mrs. Eliot died, and May 21, 1690, her husband followed her. Their children were—

Anne, born September 13, 1633, an estimable woman, who remained with her parents during their life.

Second, *John*, born August 31, 1636, died October 13, 1668, pastor of Newton. Wives, Sarah —, and Elizabeth, daughters of Daniel Gookin, Esq., the historian.

Third, JOSEPH, born December 20, 1638, the father of Mrs. Woodbridge.

Fourth, *Samuel*, born June 22, 1641, who died while fitting for the ministry. He was eminent for talents and piety.

Fifth, *Aaron*, born February 19, 1643, who died very young, but pious; and,

Sixth, *Benjamin*, born June 29, 1646, his father's missionary assistant. Of these sons, only Joseph survived his father.

JOSEPH ELIOT was graduated in 1658, and after preaching for a time in Northampton, was settled in Guilford, Connecticut, 1664, and married, first, Sarah, daughter of Governor William Brenton of Rhode Island. She died in Newport, in 1674, and Mr. Eliot, married second, *Mary*, daughter of HON. SAMUEL WYLLYS, (of Hartford,) and *Ruth Haynes*, his wife. He is spoken of in history as "That burning and shining light," but his successful ministry was closed by death, May 24, 1694, and his wife died October 11, 1729, aged 73.

SAMUEL WYLLYS died May 30, 1709; his daughter *Mehitabel*, married, first, Rev. Daniel Russell of Charlestown, second, Rev. Isaac Foster of the first Church in Hartford, and it is said that a third husband was Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, his successor.

The father of Mr. Wyllys was GOVERNOR GEORGE W., who "left a fine estate in England for the Gospel's sake," and came to America in 1638. He brought over and planted on his estate in Hartford, the Apple-tree which still flourishes near the Charter Oak, that ground being a part of his farm. By the order to hide the Charter, we find that the tree stood "in front of the dwelling of Hon. Samuel Wyllys," then one of the magistrates. GEORGE died in March, 1644; *Hzekiah*, his son, (Secretary Wyllys,) in 1734. The secretaryship descended from father to son, continuing in the family for 98 successive years. SAMUEL died May 30, 1709. His wife *Ruth Haynes*, was daughter to JOHN HAYNES, from Essex County, England, who emigrated with Mr. Hooker in 1633, and after holding the office of Governor in Massachusetts, assisted in founding the Colony of Connecticut. From 1639 to 1654, the date of his death, he was chosen Governor of Connecticut every alternate year, which was as often as the constitution would permit. *Joseph*, his son, succeeded Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, in the First Church of Hartford.

Having thus given the *parentage* of Mrs. Joseph Eliot, we will return to her *family*, consisting of eight children, viz.:

First, *Mehitabel*, born October 1, 1676, and married to William Wilson. She died April 19, 1723.

Second, *Anna*, born December 12, 1677, who married Jonathan Law of Milford, December 20, 1698, and died November 16, 1703. Mr. Law was Judge of the Supreme Court, Chief Justice, Lieutenant Governor and Governor of Connecticut, and his sons and grandsons have also stood high in civil life.

Third, *Jemima*, (Mrs John Woodbridge of West Springfield,) born in 1680.

Fourth, *Bashua*, born in 1682, who married Augustus Lucas of Fairfield.

Fifth, *Jared*, D. D., distinguished as a divine, a physician and a natural philosopher, who settled at Killingworth, and died in 1763, leaving a large family.

Sixth, *Mary*, born in 1687, and married first to Samuel Hart of Durham, second to Abraham Pierson of Clinton,

Ct., third to Richard Treat of Wethersfield, and fourth to Mr. Hooker.

Seventh, *Rebecca*, born in 1690, who married, first John Trowbridge, October 26, 1710, second Mr. Fiske, third Deacon William Dudley of North Guilford, December 18, 1749. She died February 9, 1782; and

Eighth, *Obiel*, who married Mary, daughter of John Leet of Guilford.

We have now given the *ancestry* of TIMOTHY WOODBRIDGE of Stockbridge, son of REV. JOHN WOODBRIDGE of West Springfield, and *Jemima Eliot* his wife, so far as we have been able to gather it. His brothers were five in number, and his sisters two, viz. First, *Abigail*, born December 22, 1700, was married to John Mixer, October 30, 1734. Childless. Second, *John*, born December 25, 1702, was settled first at Pequonnac in 1729, and was installed in South Hadley in 1742.. He died in 1783. His first wife was Miss Ruggles of New Jersey, by whom he had two sons, John, and Col. Ruggles Woodbridge, member of the Legislature for many years, an energetic and excellent man. The second wife was Miss Clark of Belchertown. She had five children, one of whom was the father of Rev. John Woodbridge of Old Hadley, Rev. Sylvester W., and Mindwell, the wife of Mr. Gould of Southampton. A daughter married Rev. Joseph Strong, and was the mother of Prof. Strong of Rutger's College, Dr. W. Strong of Boston, and Dr. M. Strong of Rochester. Of her daughters, one married a son of President Dwight, another Professor Avery of Hamilton College, and a third Dr. Bogert of the Sailor's Snug Harbor. The first missionary to California was also a descendant of Rev. J. W. of South Hadley.

Third, Jahleel, born Dec. 11, 1704; died, April 27, 1705.

Fourth, Joseph, born Feb. 10, 1807; will have a separate notice.

Timothy, born Feb. 27, 1709, was the fifth child.

Sixth, Benjamin, born Feb. 14, 1711; died March 23, of the same year.

Seventh, Benjamin, born June 15, 1712, was settled in Amity, Ct., now called Woodbridge in honor of him. He was a man of great shrewdness and wit, and many of his sayings are remembered to this day. He also possessed

to an unusual degree the affection and confidence of his people. He died Dec. 24, 1785, aged 73.

Eighth, Jemima, born June 30, 1717, married Mr. Nicholson, a merchant, and removed to New Jersey ; but after his death she joined her brothers in Stockbridge, and for several summers taught a school of small children in Goodrich street. As has been observed, the mother also removed to Stockbridge, and thus this place became, rather than any other, the home of the family.

Timothy was, strictly speaking, the first white inhabitant of missionary Stockbridge. He was also the first deacon in the church, the first magistrate in the town, and the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, for which service he received from England a crown a day. He was Judge of his Majesty's Inferior Court, and after 1761, was Judge both of Probate and Common Pleas. Just before his death, which occurred May 11, 1774, he was chosen as member of the Governor's Council by mandamus from the King, but declined the office. His docket, an antique relic indeed, was destroyed by a fire which occurred in Vergennes, Vt., in 1846. Mr. Woodbridge built first on the South side of the road, a short distance to the East of the house of Mr. Stephen W. Jones ; but he afterwards built on the site now occupied by Mr. Samuel Goodrich. He was Married in 1736 to Miss Abigail Day of West Springfield, whose father, Samuel Day, born May 20, 1671, was married in 1697 to Marah Dumbleton. The parents of Samuel Day were Thomas and Sarah Day. Mrs. Woodbridge was born March, 17, 1713, and died Dec. 4, 1772. Her children were :—

Abigail, born in West Springfield in 1737, who married Mr. Townsend of New Haven.

Second, Sybil, born about 1743, who Married Capt. William Goodrich, and settled in Stockbridge, where she died Jan. 21, 1782, aged 39. Her children were first, Experience ; and William, who died June 10, 1771, aged 9 years. Mrs. Goodrich died June 21, 1782, aged 39.

Third, Silvia, born about 1745, who married Capt. Phineas Morgan from Springfield, settled in Stockbridge, and died Dec. 3, 1806. Her son, Miles Morgan, settled in West Stockbridge, had a large family, but buried five of them in the church-yard in this place. He died Oct. 8,

1842, aged 64, his father, May 26, aged 79, his mother, Dec. 3, 1806.

Fourth, Timothy, who died young.

Fifth, William, who married Martha, daughter of Joseph Patterson of Richmond, and moved at an early date to that part of New Haven, Vt., now included in Waltham; and from thence to Madrid, N. Y. His children were, first, Abigail, married Mr. Stockman of Vergennes, Vt., and had six children; second, Electa, married to Abel Allen of Ferrisburg, and died in New York, leaving two children; third, William, married to Betsey Whitney and had several children; fourth, Sereno, who married and had one child; fifth, Lucy, married, first, to Potter Scranton of Vermont, second, to Mr. Thompson, with whom she moved to Canada—she had children by both marriages; sixth, Martha, married to William Whitney, had three children; and seventh, John Eliot, who married in Madrid rather late in life.

Sixth, Enoch, born Dec. 25, 1750, married Nancy Winchell of Oblong, N. Y., in 1774, and had children—first, Timothy, born Aug. 16, 1775, and married to Lydia Chipman, July 3, 1801; second, Enoch, born May 15, 1777, died Sept. 19, 1778; third, Enoch Day, born July 16, 1779, married Clara Strong of Vergennes, Oct. 12, 1806, —was several times representative from that city to the Legislature, twice County Senator, three years Mayor, and during the same period Chief Judge of the City Court, and died July 17, 1853; fourth, Sophia, born Apr. 30, 1784, married to Isaac Hopkins of Hopkinton, 1812; fifth, Harriet, born Apr. 25, 1786, married to Benjamin W. Hopkins; sixth, Nancy, born Aug. 30, 1788, married to Thomas Geer, Feb. 22, 1810; seventh, Betsey, born July 5, 1790, married to Ville Lawrence of Vergennes, Dec. 4, 1814, died Nov. 23, 1830; and eighth, Sally Maria, born Jan. 30, 1796, married to Henry Weed, July 4, 1821. Enoch, (the elder) died Apr. 25, 1805, his first wife, May 11, 1800, and his second, Sabria Hopkins, (married Jan. 1, 1802) Jan. 5, 1807. He was graduated at Yale in 1774, but soon entered the army, was an adjutant in General Patterson's brigade. As Lieutenant Woodbridge, connected with Arnold's volunteer command at Ticonderoga and Crown Point in 1775, he is known in history. He

stood by the side of Montgomery when he fell at Quebec, returned from thence in 1776, was at the battles of Hubbardton and Bennington, and at the taking of Burgoyne, was wounded at White Plains, and continued in the army until the close of the war, 1783, the latter part of the time as Commissary, stationed at Albany and Bennington. After the close of the war, he removed from Stockbridge and commenced practice in Pownal, Vt. Thence he removed to Manchester, but finally settled in Vergennes, of which city he was the first Mayor, representing it, also, for many years in the Legislature, after which he was Chief Judge of the Supreme Court of the State. He maintained the character of a man of strict integrity and true benevolence, "and," says one, "may be said to have died without an enemy."

Seventh, Electa, who married Colonel Stephen Pearl of Stockbridge, Nov. 5, 1773.

Eighth, Lucy, who married Ephraim Grant of Tolland, Ct., Oct. 14, 1772; no children. Eunice Woodbridge of Stockbridge, married Dr. Samuel Lee of Great Barrington, Jan. 21, 1762, and Samuel Woodbridge, married Mary Nicholson of Stockbridge, July 15, 1765; but their names do not appear on the record furnished by Hon. Enoch D. Woodbridge of Vergennes.

JOSEPH WOODBRIDGE AND FAMILY.

As JOSEPH was a brother of Timothy, his ancestry may be found under the same head. He was born Feb. 10, 1707, and, May 10, 1730, married Mrs. Elizabeth Barnard, cousin to Mrs. Timothy Woodbridge. Her former husband was Joseph Barnard. They were published Dec. 30, 1721, and he died Dec. 3, 1728. Their children were:

First, Elizabeth, born Jan. 18, 1702-3, and married in Stockbridge, Oct., 1787, to Rev. Thomas Strong, first pastor of New Marlborough. She had seven children—Elizabeth, born Dec. 12, 1788, married Rev. E. Steele of Egremont; Jerusha, born March 21, 1750; Joseph, born Feb. 3, 1752, married Xena Jackson of Tyringham, (afterwards Mrs. Dr. Catlin of New Marlborough;) Ashbel, born Jan. 19, 1754; Persis, born Feb. 9, 1756; Lucina, born May 31, 1758; Lucina Mehitable, born Dec. 3, 1761. Mrs. Strong died Dec. 24, 1761.

Second, Mary, born Sept. 25, 1724.

Third, Sarah, born Sept. 20, 1726.

Fourth, Joseph, born May 20, 1729. He moved from Stockbridge after 1754.

After her marriage with Mr. Woodbridge, Mrs. Barnard had five children. The first two were born in West Springfield, and the others probably in Wethersfield, Ct., to which place the family removed. These children were:

First, Jemima, born Feb. 28, 1731, married to Jacob Cooper of Stockbridge.

Second, Isabella, born Jan. 16, 1733, married to Zenas Parsons.

Third, Mabel, born Feb. 13, 1735, married to Captain Josiah Jones.

Fourth, Jahleel, born about 1738, married to Lucy, daughter of President Edwards.

Fifth, Stephen, who died when a youth, and of whom we have no dates.

Mr. Woodbridge came to Stockbridge when Jahleel was at the age of eleven months. He lived first on the site now occupied by Stephen W. Jones. The exact situation of the house is now covered by the garden of Mr. Jones. Traces of the well, the cellar, and even of the ash-heap may still be seen. Subsequently he built on the corner now occupied by Mr. Stanton, the house standing a few rods south of that of Mr. Stanton. It was of one story, and painted red. The "Settle Lot," of Mr. Woodbridge, as conveyed to John Willard, July 5, 1750, was bounded "Northwesterly, partly by a highway, and partly by David Pixley's land, northeasterly by the marsh or mill pond, southeasterly and southerly by the lines originally run in laying out said lot; and was sold for £2500 Old Tenor Bills, well and truly paid." Tradition says that he and Mr. Willard exchanged land. Probably he first sold to Mr. Willard and built near his brother on Goodrich street, and afterwards, by exchange, regained his old government grant. Certain it is that there his last days were spent. Of the date of his death, or that of his wife, we have been able to find no record. We only know that he lived after the Revolutionary war.

Before giving the statistics of his posterity, we will insert the little we possess concerning the ancestry of Mrs.

Woodbridge. She was born Nov. 1, 1697, being ten years older than her husband, and was the daughter of John Merrick, born Dec. 9, 1658, and his wife, Mary Day, born Dec. 15, 1666, both of Springfield, and married Feb. 11, 1686-7. Mr. Merrick was the son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Tilley) Merrick, married Nov. 21, 1653; and Mrs. Mary (Day) Merrick was the daughter of Thomas and Sarah Day, all of Springfield. Thomas Merrick emigrated from Wales to Roxbury, and thence to Springfield with Mr. Pyncheon in 1636. He was the father of James Merrick, and doubtless of Thomas. The Days were early inhabitants of West Springfield, where the family still remains. Of the name of Tilley, we only know that Edward and John Tilley brought over families in the May Flower, and both died in Plymouth before the opening of Spring.

DESCENDANTS OF JOSEPH WOODBRIDGE.

Jemima, known as "Aunt Cooper," lived for a time near the Lenox line, on the East street; but after the alarm in 1755, returned to the village and lived in what was afterwards the "Aunt Cooper House," which stood in what is now the garden of Mrs. Wells. In that one story building of three ground rooms, she managed to keep as boarders such gentlemen as could afford to pay well for a home. She never set a price; but they payed all her bills quarterly, and then made up a purse for her. She was universally beloved and respected. She died about 1800, childless.

Isabella removed to Springfield at her marriage, and died there. Her children were Stephen, Pamela, and Elizabeth, who married Mr. Sheldon, and had a son, now dead, and a daughter. Her family constitute the descendants of Mrs. Parsons.

Mabel will be mentioned in the family of her husband, Capt. Jones.

Jahleel was graduated at Princeton in 1761, married Lucy Edwards June 7, 1764, was Judge of Probate Court from 1789 to 1795, State Senator four years, and a member of the County Convention which met here in 1774. He died Aug. 3, 1796, aged 58. His first wife died Sept. 17, 1786;

and he married, second, the widow of Rev. John Keep of Sheffield, formerly Miss Robbins, who survived him. His children were :—

First, Stephen, born March 12, 1765, who married Rachel Wells of West Hartford, and died in Youngstown, Ohio, August 7, 1836. Mrs. Woodbridge, born April 9, 1767, died in Stockbridge, November 7, 1833.

Second, Jonathan, born January 24, 1767, who married Miss Meach, and settled as a lawyer in Worthington, Massachusetts, where he died in 1808. Rev. Jonathan Woodbridge, editor of the "Living Age," and Rev. George Woodbridge of Richmond, Virginia, are his sons.

Third, Lucy, born April 14, 1769, who married Jonathan, son of Timothy Edwards, Esq., and settled in —.

Fourth, Joseph, born July 22, 1771, who was married, May 25, 1800, to Louisa, daughter of Col. Mark Hopkins, and settled as a lawyer in Stockbridge. For several years previous to his death, he held the office of County Clerk. He died April 23, 1829. His wife died February 9, 1819, aged 44.

Fifth, Elizabeth, born July 1, 1775, who married Elisha, son of Samuel Browne, Esq., and settled in Stockbridge. For some 20 years past, however, she has resided in Dayton, Ohio, where her husband died in February 1853.

Sixth, Sarah Edwards, born June 7, 1775, the second wife of Moses Lester of Griswold, Connecticut, and mother of C. Edwards Lester, the author. Her husband died in Griswold in 1815, and she in Constantia, New York, December 11, 1837. The date of their marriage was November 2, 1807.

Seventh, John Eliot, born June 24, 1777, who married and lived in Youngstown.

Eighth, Anna, born November 6, 1779, who died in youth ; and

Ninth, Timothy, born November 23, 1783, who married Cynthia Phelps of Green River, New York. Dr. Woodbridge lost his sight while preparing for the ministry, but completed his studies, and after preaching in New York and other places, settled in Green River, from which place he afterwards removed to Spencertown in the same county. In 1852 he retired from the pastoral office, but preaches as stated supply much of the time, devoting his leisure chiefly to writing.

The Woodbridge family has always numbered an unusual proportion of clergymen. A late publication speaks of Rev. Ashbel Woodbridge of Glastenbury, Connecticut, as being one of the family who were ministers in the Colony at or near the same time, not one of whom was ever dismissed. Ashbel was a son of Rev. Timothy Woodbridge of Hartford.

COL. EPHRAIM WILLIAMS AND FAMILY.

ROBERT WILLIAMS, the ancestor of this family, came from Norwich, England, to Roxbury, where he was admitted freeman in 1638. He is believed to have been a Welshman. His first wife, who died July 28, 1674, at the age of 80, was Elizabeth Stratton. She had four sons, viz., Samuel, born in 1632; Isaac, born in 1638; Stephen, born in 1640; and Thomas, who died young. His second wife is supposed to have been Martha Strong. She died in 1704, aged 91. Mr. Williams died September 1, 1693, supposed to have been over 100 years of age. In his will he mentions a brother, Nicholas Williams, and grand children by the names of Robinson and Totman, who may have been married themselves, or been the children of married daughters. Samuel Williams married Theoda Park, was a deacon of Roxbury church, and died September 28, 1698. The Williams family distinguished in Deerfield history, were descended from this son.

Stephen Williams lived on his ancestral estate and took charge of his father and of his uncle, Nicholas Williams, during their life time, as ordered in the will. He married Sarah Wise, and died February 15, 1719-20.

Isaac Williams, born September 1, 1638, settled in Newton in 1661, at the age of 23, and died in 1708. His first wife was Martha, daughter of Dea. William Park of Roxbury, married about 1661. Dea. Park, it is supposed, may have been the son of Edward Park of London, and brother of Henry of London, Richard of Cambridge, Samuel of Mystic, and Thomas of Stonington, Connecticut. His wife Sarah, was living in 1668: he died in 1665.

The second wife of Isaac Williams was Judith Cooper. He died February 11, 1707, aged 69. His children by his first wife were—

Isaac, born December 11, 1661, who married Elizabeth ———, and died in 1739 ;

Martha, born December 27, 1663 ;

William, born February 2, 1665, mentioned as the minister of Hatfield ;

John, born August 31, 1667, who settled in Stonington, Connecticut ;

Eleazer, born October 22, 1669, also settled at Stonington ; and

Thomas, born October 23, 1673.

Children of the second marriage—

Peter, born August 31, 1680 ;

Sarah, born October 2, 1688 ;

Ephraim, born October 21, 1691,—Col. Ephraim Williams of Stockbridge.

These are all the names we have found, though the "Settlement of Newton" gives 12 as the number of his children. The others probably died young.

Col. Ephraim Williams lived for some years after his marriage, with his brother at Hatfield, but came to Stockbridge from Newton, where the greater part of his married life had been spent. His first marriage was with Elizabeth, daughter of Abraham Jackson of Newton.

Dea. John Jackson, from London, father of Abraham, was the first settler of Newton who remained there through life, "and," says the author of "The Settlement of Newton," to whom we are much indebted for information, "the date when he came into the village may be properly considered as the centennial anniversary of the first settlement." He was then 39 years of age. He bought a house and eighteen acres of land in 1639, and took the Freeman's oath in 1641. He was one of the first deacons in the church, and gave an acre of land for the church and grave-yard. On this the first house of worship was erected. Newton originally formed a part of Cambridge, and the whole was known as New Town.

Dea. Jackson was probably the brother of Edward Jackson, and if so, he was the son of Christopher Jackson, who died in London, December 5, 1663. The first wife of Edward was named Frances, and the second (married in March, 1649,) was the widow of Rev. John Oliver, formerly Miss Margaret Newgate. He was born in 1602,

settled in Newton in 1643, and died in 1681. These two were the most wealthy among the settlers of Newton. Dea. Jackson had two wives, the last of whom, Margaret, died August 28, 1684, aged 60. He died January 30, 1675. He had 5 sons and 10 daughters. Edward, his son, was killed by the Indians at the time of their destruction of Medford, February 21, 1676, and a son John was in active life in 1678; but Abraham, the father of Mrs. Williams, was the only one who reared a family. By him another acre was added to the gift of his father, and together, they form the ancient part of the Center Cemetery. He married Elizabeth Biscoe.

The children of Col. Ephraim Williams and his first wife, Elizabeth Jackson, were—

First, Ephraim, born February 23, 1715, and second, Thomas, born February 24, 1718, 6 weeks previous to the death of the mother. The second wife of Col. Williams was Abigail, daughter of Josiah and Abigail (Barnes) Jones of Weston. Her ancestry may be seen by turning to the article "Josiah Jones and Family." She was married May 21, 1719. Her children were—

First, Abigail, born April 20, 1721, mentioned as the wife of Mr. Sergeant.

Second, Josiah, who married Miss Sergeant of New Jersey, lived for a time with his father, was wounded seriously, but not fatally, at the battle near Lake George, when his brother Ephraim fell, and died, it appears, in Stockbridge, May 6, 1759, at the age of 38.

Third, Judith, who was married in Stockbridge, Sept. 17, 1761, to Rev. Ezra Thayer of Ware, Massachusetts. He died February 12, 1775, and she returned to Stockbridge, built the house now the residence of Mrs. Archibald Hopkins, and died April 5, 1801, aged 72. Her family is now extinct.

Fourth, Elizabeth, the wife of Dr. Stephen West, and fifth, Elijah. Some members of this family should have more than a passing notice.

Ephraim, the eldest, went early to sea, and visited England, Spain, Holland, &c., but abandoned the life of a sailor at his father's request. He came to Stockbridge after the removal of the family to this place, (1737,) made several large purchases of land, and represented the town in the

General Court. Dr. Williams speaks of him as returning to Hatfield in 1748, and serving as Deputy Sheriff under Col. Oliver Partridge of that town. It was during his residence here, therefore, that he was appointed Captain of a company raised in New England for the Canada Expedition, designed to put an end to the Indian invasions which kept the country in a state of painful agitation. Soon after his appointment, Capt. Williams was placed in command of the line of Massachusetts Forts, west of the river, extending from Fort Dummer, in Vernon, Vermont, to Fort Massachusetts, on the Hoosick, three or four miles east of Williamstown. He had also command of a small fort at Williamstown. He resided usually at Fort Massachusetts; but when this fort was attacked by De Vaudreuil, August 20, 1746, he had joined the army of the Expedition. The fort was rebuilt and garrisoned by him in 1748, and stood an attack of about 330 French and Indians on the 2d of August. The attack was sudden and the danger great. Two men were killed and one wounded; and the brave captain was soon promoted to the rank of Major. It was at the close of this war that he settled again in Hatfield, from whence he had come to Stockbridge.

In 1755, he was again called to the battle field. Gov. Shirley appointed him to the command of a regiment, and he was ordered to join the eccentric William—afterwards Sir William—Johnson, at Albany, he having command of the expedition against Crown Point. Fort Edward was partially built, and manned, and Johnson took a position at the southern extremity of Lake George, preparing meantime to proceed to Ticonderoga. But Baron Dieskau was too quick for him; and having secured that important post, came down with an army of 1800 or more, intending to take Fort Edward, &c., and cut off Johnson from all supplies. When near that fort, however, he yielded to the fears of his Indians, and turned towards the careless commander on the Lake. But Johnson, partially aroused, sent notice of the enemy's landing to Col. Blanchard, and called a council of war on the night of the 7th—September, 1755. It was proposed to send out a small force to arrest Dieskau; but when the opinion of Hendrick, the Indian Chief, was asked, he replied that if they were to fight they were too few, if to be killed, too many. His advice

was taken, and 1200 were sent under the command of Williams, Hendrick and his band being of the number. Before marching, the aged Chief mounted a gun-carriage and harangued his warriors with true Indian eloquence. One of the American officers present declared that though he understood not one word, yet such was the manner of the speaker, and such the evident propriety and force of his counsels that he was more affected by it than by any other speech to which he ever listened. The head of the Brave was then covered with long white locks, and he was loved with the deepest veneration by every warrior.

Dieskau approached the Americans through the woods, his army ranged in the form of a crescent, and coming to a defile where they could take every advantage, he suddenly commenced a heavy fire, which was accompanied by the fierce yell of his Indians. Williams now found himself in the centre of this line, and attempting to gain the eminence on one side, was shot through the head. Hendrick was also fatally wounded in the *back* by a fire from the enemy's flank, a circumstance which greatly grieved him, as it carried the appearance of his having turned his back to the foe. Col. Whiting bravely commanded the retreat which had now become inevitable, and after the first fire few of the Americans fell. A pond in the vicinity, behind which the retreating army took refuge, and into which the French threw the bodies of the slain, has since been called "*Bloody Pond*," and a boulder on the road-side near where Williams fell, is called "Williams' Rock." It is several feet in diameter, nearly round, with a flat top. On this a citizen of Stockbridge,—a son of Williams College—engraved the initials of his name and the date of his death during the autumn of 1852. The skull (his body was buried near it,) is said to have been taken away by a gentleman from Carolina bearing the name of Williams, some years since, probably his nephew, who was a great antiquarian. When Williams fell, Rev. Stephen Williams of Long Meadow was with the army in the capacity of Chaplain, William Williams, afterwards Signer of the Declaration, was one of his Staff, (both kinsman,) Thomas, his brother, was Surgeon, and Josiah was one of his soldiers.

Col. Williams was a large portly man, agreeable and conciliating in his manners to an unusual degree, cheerful and

even playful in his disposition ; and being also intelligent, virtuous and of a large, generous heart, he was universally beloved and respected. In the new Chapel at Williams College the Trustees have erected a tablet on which is the following inscription : “ To the memory of the gallant and generous Col. Ephraim Williams, who was born at Newton, Middlesex Co., Feb 24, 1714, O. S., lived at Deerfield, and fell in an ambuscade of French and Indians near the southern extremity of Lake George, Sept. 8, 1755, in the 42d year of his age. Having been stationed at Fort Massachusetts, in what is now the township of Adams, he left in his Will a liberal provision for a Free School in Williamstown, which was incorporated in 1785. On this foundation, in 1793, arose the College which was called after his name.” An effort is now making, (1853,) by the alumni of the College to erect a monument to Col. Williams on the boulder where he fell. This Will was made at Albany, July 22, on his way to the scene of his death, and the bequest was in accordance with a promise made to the inhabitants during his residence at Fort Massachusetts.

Thomas Williams settled at Deerfield as a physician about 1739, having been graduated at Yale in 1737, the year of the removal of the family to Stockbridge. His medical studies were pursued with Dr. Wheat of Boston. Of course he was not much in Stockbridge, though we must consider him as properly a citizen for a couple of years. His wife was Ann, sister of Dr. T. Childs of Pittsfield, married about 1740. His children were :—

First, Elizabeth, born Aug. 28, 1741 who married Lemuel Barnard of Sheffield.

Second, Anna, born Sept. 16, 1743, wife of Elijah Dwight Esq. of Barrington.

Third, Thomas, born May 5, 1746, who resided in Stockbridge, and is mentioned in Sec. 46th of this work ;

By a second marriage with Miss Esther Williams, daughter of Rev. William Williams of Weston, about 1749, his first wife having died in May, 1746.

Fourth, Cynthia, born Oct. 1, 1750, wife of Hezekiah Leffingwell.

Fifth, Mary Cooke, born Nov. 28, 1752, wife of Elihu Ashley.

Sixth, Martha, born Jan. 29, 1755, wife of Dr. Jeremiah West of Tolland, brother of Rev. Dr. Stephen West of Stockbridge.

Seventh, Ephraim, born July 25, 1757, who died in infancy.

Eighth, Esther, born Jan. 18, 1759,—ditto.

Ninth, Ephraim, born Nov. 19, 1760, a resident of Stockbridge, and mentioned in Sec. 46th.

Tenth, William Stoddard, born Oct. 11, 1762, a physician.

Eleventh, Solomon, born Dec. 9, 1764.

Twelfth, Elijah, born Jan. 30, 1767, died June 9, 1815, in Stockbridge.

Thirteenth, Stephen West, born June 30, 1769, who died in Stockbridge, Jan. 20, 1790.

Fourteenth, Horace, born Sept. 2, 1771, who died in infancy.

Dr. Williams was appointed surgeon in the army raised for the Canada Expedition, 1744, and again, for the line of forts of which his brother had the command; and he left Fort Massachusetts by permission a few days before the destruction of that post, Aug. 20, 1746; thus escaping death or Indian captivity. On his way, with thirteen attendants, he passed through a body of hostile Indians who lay concealed so near his path that they could almost reach them with their guns, yet did not know of his danger until afterwards informed of it by one of the party. He reached Deerfield in season to dress the wounds of his fellow countrymen after "Barr's Fight" in that town, and, as we have observed, was present in the same capacity when his brother fell, on Monday, Sept. 8, 1755. The scene of that day he describes as terrific. The engagement lasted from half past ten A. M., until four in the afternoon; the Americans fighting bravely in the camp, and at last gaining a complete victory, and taking Dieskau prisoner, with wounds dressed by Dr. Williams, but which, in 1767, proved mortal. So fierce was the conflict that Dr. Williams speaks of the bullets flying thickly about his tent, and at times penetrating their slight covering, while they dressed the wounds of the mangled and dying. Dr. Williams held the office of Lieutenant Colonel in one of the regiments at Lake George in 1756, and died, Sept. 28, 1775.

Elizabeth Williams, married Rev. Stephen West of

Stockbridge, probably about 1750. Her character is thus given by Dr. Hyde of Lee in her funeral sermon. "Mrs. West possessing naturally a discerning, active mind, much improved by reading, conversation, and reflection, and having an affectionate and friendly heart, as well as a great share of wisdom and prudence, was enabled to fill with unusual dignity the important place in society to which Providence raised her. She had long professed friendship to the cause of Christ, and was an unshaken and able advocate of the distinguishing doctrines of the Gospel. To experimental religion she never appeared to make high pretensions; yet her conversation on this subject evidenced a great acquaintance with her own heart, and an accurate knowledge of the Scriptural marks of true religion. Her long life was filled up in doing good as she had opportunity; and to those whom she viewed as friends to the Lord Jesus she was very prompt in giving tokens of her approbation and friendship."

Mrs. West was the warm friend of the Indian, and intimate in her associations with the family of her husband's predecessor; and the estimate which her people made of her worth is engraven on the marble erected by them above her grave. She died Sept. 15, 1804, at the age of 73.

Elijah, known as Col. Elijah Williams, married Miss Sophia Partridge of Hatfield. In 1766 he built the "Iron Works" at what is now called West Stockbridge Village, and thus commenced the settlement of that part of the town. Subsequently, he opened the Marble Quarries which have become so widely noted. He was also engaged as a proprietor in the settlement of Lenox and Richmond; but later in life he returned to Stockbridge, and died in the house now the residence of Mr. Thomas Wells, June 9, 1815, aged 82. Mrs. Williams died Oct. 25, 1830, aged 84, leaving one son, a physician at the South, since dead.

JOSIAH JONES AND FAMILY.

When the mission to the Stockbridge Indians was established, a few families of piety were selected to accompany the pastor as associates. Among these was the family of Deacon Josiah Jones. Mr. Jones' father (Josiah Jones) emigrated from Berkshire, England, in 1665, the period of the last dispersion of the Puritans. He settled in that

part of Watertown which was afterwards set off as Weston, Mass. Josiah (the son) was born in 1701. In 1724 he married Miss Anna Brown. They had fourteen children, only five of whom lived to settle as heads of families. Josiah, the eldest, born in Weston, in 1725, married Miss Mabel Woodbridge, daughter of Joseph Woodbridge, who, with his family, also came to this town as associates of the missionary. Capt. Jones (as he was usually called) learned the Indian language and was long remembered by a few of their tribe. They always spoke of him as "Good man, always kind to Indian." When the tribe left Stockbridge, they presented him, as a token of their affection, the "Old Conch Shell" which had always been used to summon them to their place of worship, and also a beautiful belt of wampum. This belt was stolen from him by the Shays men, and never recovered.

The children of Josiah and Mabel Jones were—Solomon, born 1759; Stephen Woodbridge, 1761; Clarissa, 1763; Elizabeth, 1765; Josiah, 1767; Horatio, 1769; Anna, 1772; William, 1775, and Mary, 1778; all of whom lived to the age of forty, and, except one, had families. The "Settle Lot" given to Mr. Jones was the same as that still in the possession of the family. He built, first, a log house upon this ground, and then a framed building, after his death used as a work-house by the town. His son Josiah built a few rods from this, and *his* son Josiah on the old spot, in which house his widow now resides.

Micah, the second child of the Mr. Jones, who emigrated to Stockbridge with the missionary, was born Oct. 4, 1728, and probably died very young.

Anna, born Feb. 4, 1730-1, married Oliver Warner of the southwest part of the county, and died, together with her husband and two children, soon after the close of the Revolution.

Keziah, born April 6, 1733, married Mr.—probably Timothy—Kellogg of Egremont, and left descendants.

Elijah, born Jan. 23, 1735-6, died very young.

Abigail, born Nov. 17, 1738, was married, May 31, to Josiah Warren.

Elijah, born in 1742, married Rhoda Stoddard of L. South Farms, niece to his step-mother. He enlisted in

the Revolutionary army as orderly sergeant, with a commissary's commission, March, 1781, took the small pox, which was followed by the consumption, and died at the house of the clergyman in Dover, N. Y., April 6, 1782, at the age of 40. He was the first white male born in Stockbridge; but we find in his family a tradition that previous to the birth of any white child in this town, several children of Stockbridge parents were born in the towns from which the mothers had emigrated; a tradition which satisfactorily accounts for discrepancies in dates. The children of Mr. Jones were Anna, born 1769; James, 1772; Lewmond, 1773; Rhoda, 1776; Elijah, 1778; Alfred, 1780; and Mary, 1781. Elijah lived until late in life on his father's farm, and in his house, but died in Curtisville, in 1853. The other brothers who lived to settle in life, removed, like several of the sons of Capt. Jones, to the Chenango Purchase. The residence of Mr. Jones was near the pond, Mah-kee-nae.

JOHN WILLARD'S FAMILY.

John Willard was descended from Simon Willard, who married the grand daughter of Lord Darcey, Earl of Rivers, and came early from Kent to New England. He removed first from Wethersfield to Canaan, and from thence to Stockbridge, previous to the death of Mr. Sergeant. He died July 23, 1762, aged 67, and Margaret, his wife, died May 17, 1785, aged 86. The residence of the family was that since owned by Mr. H. Goodrich, though Mr. Willard at one time bought the settle lot of Mr. J. Woodbridge. Probably they exchanged again soon afterwards. His children were—Elias, who settled in Lenox; Benjamin, who settled on the homestead, married Naomi —, and died Feb. 8, 1780, aged 50. His wife died May 8, 1817, aged 78; Joseph, who married and settled here, and died March 19, 1777, aged 37; Anna, who married an Allen of Barrington; Lydia, who married Esquire Samuel Brown, and Sylvia, who died unmarried.

DAVID PIXLEY.

Came from Westfield, and built on the site now occupied by Judge Byington. He joined the expedition

against Cape Breton in 1745, and it is said, received for his services a township west of the Mississippi. He visited with his son Peter, and never returned. David, junior, took the homestead. Eunice, a daughter of David Pixley, senior, married Deacon David Ingersoll. His other children were Asa and Matilda. His wives, Miss Cooper and the Widow Bliss of Boston.

JOHN TAYLOR.

From West Springfield, lived first on the hill, but afterwards built the house in South street, occupied at present by Mr. Timothy Darby. He had a son, Ephraim Taylor, and a daughter, Anna, who married a Partridge. He was also here when Mr. Sergeant died.

JACOB COOPER, BROTHER OF MRS. PIXLEY,

Came from West Springfield, and married Jemima Woodbridge. They are still called "Uncle and Aunt Cooper," and were universally beloved. Their history is given in that of the family of Joseph Woodbridge.

STEPHEN NASH AND FAMILY.

The great grandfather of STEPHEN NASH was Thomas Nash, an early emigrant, who settled in New Haven. Lieut. Timothy Nash, his son, married Rebecca, daughter of Rev. Samuel Stone, the associate of Mr Hooker in the pastorate of the colony church at Hartford. The son of Timothy, and father of Stephen, was Lieut. John Nash of Hadley, who married Elizabeth Kellogg. Stephen was born Sept. 20, 1704, and married Elizabeth Smith, May 22, 1728, the daughter of Deacon John Smith of Hadley, and grand daughter of Lieut. Philip Smith, (believed, in the days of superstition, to have been persecuted even unto death by the witches, who could not bear his upright conduct.) He was the son of Samuel Smith, the emigrant. His wife was Rebecca Foote, daughter of Nathaniel Foote and his wife, Elizabeth Deming, some of the first settlers

of Wethersfield.* Elizabeth Smith was born in Hadley, Oct. 12, 1705. Mr. Nash settled in Westfield as a blacksmith, but came to Stockbridge about 1752, to sit under the ministry of President Edwards. He died in 1764, and his wife in 1790. Their children were:—

Bathsheba, born July 30, 1729, and married to Gershom Martindale of Lenox.

— Joanna, born Jan. 23, 1731, and married to John Owen. She was the mother of the late venerable Mrs. Elizabeth Dewey. They settled in Sheffield.

Elizabeth, born July 10, 1733, married Gershom Kellogg of Egremont.

Phœbe, born July 13, 1735, married Esquire Elijah Brown.

Desire, born July 19, 1737, died unmarried.

Stephen—Deacon Nash, born Nov. 22, 1739, married first, Jemima Kellogg, who died Feb. 17, 1790, and second, March 13, 1791, Mrs. Mary Dewey, daughter of Deacon Elisha Bradley. He died Oct. 14, 1808, and his second wife, Feb. 9, 1837, aged 78.

Moses, born Sept. 7, 1741, married Anna, daughter of Dr. Bliss of Boston. She was the daughter of the second Mrs. Pixley.

Experience, born Nov. 3, 1744, married Oringh Stoddard of this town; and her twin sister,

Mercy, married Edward Martindale, brother to Gershom Martindale.

Rhoda, born Nov. 15, 1746, married Reuben Sheldon of Stockbridge, July 18, 1771, and died after the birth of her only child.

ELIHU PARSONS AND FAMILY.

Elihu Parsons came to Stockbridge from Northampton, in 1752. He had married Sarah, daughter of President Edwards, June 11, 1750. Their children were—Ebenezer, who died in infancy; Esther, born May 29, 1752, died 1774; Elihu, born Dec. 9, 1753, and married to Lydia Hinsdale, the grand daughter of Mrs. Joseph

* Nathaniel Foote is still famed as the one who helped King Charles into the Oak. The arms of the family commemorate the event.

Woodbridge and her first husband, and the first white child born in Lenox; Eliphalet, born June 18, 1756; Lydia, born June 15, 1757, and married to Aaron Ingersoll of Lee; Lucretia, born Aug. 11, 1759, and married to Mr. Parsons of Goshen, the father of Mr. Parsons, the missionary; Sarah, born Sept. 8, 1760, and married to Deacon David Ingersoll of Lee; Lucy, born Oct. 14, 1762, and married to Mr. Ketchum of Victor, N. Y.; Jonathan and Jerusha, who both died in infancy; and Jerusha, born June 1, 1766, who married Ira Seymour of Stockbridge, and is still living in Victor. The residence of the family was on the site of Mrs. Ashburner's house. There Mr. Parsons died Aug. 22, 1785, at the age of 66; but his wife died in Goshen, Mass., May 15, 1805, at the age of 76.

MATHEW CADWELL

Was born in Westfield, and came here unmarried in 1752. He afterwards married Miss Sarah Root of Great Barrington, also a native of Westfield, and lived in the house so well known as "the Aunt Cooper House," which stood where the house of Mrs. Wells now stands. Subsequently, he removed to that part of the town called Larawaugh, in memory of Lawrence Lynch, the Irish boy who fled with Mrs. Dwight in 1755, and who was one of the first to settle west of Deacon Brown's. Mr. Cadwell was a shoemaker by trade. His children were Abel, born Jan. 5, 1762; Mathew, Sarah, Nehushta, Jeremiah, Levi, Louis, and David,—the last named still living. Mr. Cadwell died Jan. 27, 1811, aged 79, and Mrs. Cadwell July, 28, 1806.

MR. LAWRENCE LYNCH

Married Doreas ———, and died Nov. 5, 1815, aged 80. His wife died May 12, 1799, aged 60. The late Mr. Moses Lynch is their son. He married Miss L. Cadwell.

In the east part of the town, Mr. Cooper was called the first inhabitant, yet his residence was beyond the Lenox line. A gentleman called one day at his door to ask for water. "You are greatly blessed," said he to Mrs. Cooper, "for all the world are praying for you." "And

how can that be?" "Why," he answered, "I never heard a prayer in which those in the ends of the earth were not particularly remembered; and I am sure you are the persons." In 1755 they removed nearer to the center of the world, through fear of the Indians.

After them, a family by the name of Galpin, and some others, settled there; but they have long been gone from town. Of the present inhabitants, the families of Bradley and Williams were first; Deacon Elisha Bradley came in 1773, and Capt. Daniel Williams about the same time. In Curtisville, Deacon Elnathan Curtis and Mr. Churchill, from Woodbury, Ct., were among the first settlers, and were earlier inhabitants of Stockbridge than Deacon Bradley and Capt. Williams. Joseph Barnard, son of Mrs. J. Woodbridge was here in active life in 1754, but afterwards removed. Mr. Stoddard and James Wilson are mentioned in 1758; Ezra Whittlesey in 1762.



SECTION XXIX.

PRESIDENT EDWARDS AND WIFE.

REV. JONATHAN EDWARDS, born in East Windsor, Ct., Oct. 5, 1703, was the son of Rev. Timothy Edwards, a gentleman of Welsh descent. It has been shown that the Church of Stockbridge was not only a missionary church, but that its early English members were of Puritan origin. And it has been blessed with pastors of the same holy stock.

The great grandfather of Timothy Edwards was Rev. Richard Edwards of London, whose widow married a Mr. James Coles, and emigrated to Hartford. Her name was Anne. Her son, William Edwards married Agnes —, sister to the mayors of Exeter and Barnstable, England. His son, Richard, married Elizabeth, daughter of William and Elizabeth Tuthill from Northamptonshire, and was the father of Timothy. The mother of Jonathan Edwards was Esther, daughter of Rev. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton, and his wife, Mrs. Esther Mather, daughter of

Rev. Joseph Warham of Windsor. The mother of Mr. Stoddard was Mary Downing, daughter of Anthony Downing, who came from the west of England, and sister of Sir George Downing.

But it may be objected, that not one passenger of the *May Flower* has been mentioned in all the pedigrees which have been given, unless we except Elizabeth Tilley, an ancestress of Mrs. Joseph Woodbridge. Many confound the Plymouth Pilgrims with the Puritans; whereas, they were a perfectly distinct religious body. By the Puritans, the Plymouth adventurers were considered as ultraists, though very excusable ones. They did not believe the Church of England to be the Church of Christ; and as they set sail for the New World, bid "farewell to Babylon, farewell to Rome." The Puritans, on the contrary, were members of that Church, and sought its purity, until some of its sons, dishonoring their mother, as they believed, ejected them, and compelled them to seek shelter in the wilderness, already broken by the Pilgrims. As they left England, they implored the prayers of the established church, and bid "farewell to dear England; farewell to the Church of God in England; and to all the christian friends there." It is from this body of Christians, separate in organization, yet holding fellowship in spirit with all true believers, that the materials have been drawn for the building of the Stockbridge Church.

To return then from this digression. Jonathan Edwards commenced the study of Latin at the age of six, and entered Yale College before he was thirteen years of age. He received the degree of bachelor at sixteen, and after two years of further study at the same institution, was licensed to preach the Gospel. His first settlement was with his grandfather at Northampton, Feb. 15, 1727, having held the office of tutor at Yale from the Spring of 1724, until the time of his call, Sept. 1726. For several years he was much beloved; and after the death of Mr. Stoddard in 1729, he had the sole charge of the flock.—But he soon felt that the plan of admission to the church then in general practice was injurious to its prosperity, and boldly avowed his dissent whenever called upon to do so. At first this gave no offense; but when a personal dislike was felt, some time afterward, the innovation upon

established customs was violently opposed, and Jan. 22, 1750, he was dismissed.

After the death of Mr. Sergeant, both the whites and Indians had united in calling Rev. Dr. Hopkins of Great Barrington to become their pastor. Dr. Hopkins, besides feeling himself incompetent, as he tells us, wished to secure the place for Mr. Edwards, with whom he had studied, and proposed him as a candidate, "recommending him in the highest terms." He also wrote to the Commissioners upon the subject; and the result was, that a call was sent him early in the same year, 1750, both from Stockbridge, and from Boston. January, 1751, he came, spent the winter here, and accepted the call soon after his return. Again he came to Stockbridge the third week in June, returned the last of July, and, the first week in August, brought his family. He was installed Aug. 9, 1751. He purchased the house which had been built by Mr. Sergeant in the village, and added a back part to it of one story. He did not immediately sell his house in Northampton; and as he bought other land, he became for a time much involved. In January, 1752, he speaks of great peace in outward circumstances, but as being in debt £2,000; probably old tenor, which was then but one half the sterling value. He received his salary as missionary, from London, and from the Legislature. As pastor, he received £6 13s 4d, from the whites, besides forty shillings for wood; no doubt, sterling value. He did not attempt to learn the Indian language, believing it better for the Indians to learn English. In 1753, he speaks of a revival among the Indians. But his church records have not been found, and nothing is known of admissions to the communion. None were ever admitted upon the half-way-covenant plan after his settlement.

In August, 1752, he commenced his treatise on the "Freedom of the Will," accomplished little until December, but completed it before April, 1753. In July, 1754, he was seized with the fever and ague, and was not able to throw off the chills until January, 1755. He had taken charge of two Indian boys; but was too much prostrated to discharge his ordinary duties. In the Spring of 1755, he commenced the two works—"God's End in Creation," and "The Nature of Virtue." About the same time he

sent his son Jonathan to Onohquaga, to live with Mr. Hawley and learn the Indian language, having designed him for a missionary; but the French War drove them from the field before he had been there a twelvemonth, and both returned to Stockbridge. In May, 1756, the town was felt to be in such danger that Mr. Edwards and family were invited to take shelter with Dr. Bellamy of Bethlehem; but he seems not to have forsaken his flock. As has been before observed, the house previously occupied by Col. Ephraim Williams was garrisoned during this war. The soldiers were quartered upon the inhabitants for food, and Mr. Edwards speaks of four as his quota. Two of these were Captains Hosmer and Stebbins. During the summer of 1755, the soldiers stationed here were from Connecticut. But in September of that year they had been withdrawn; and, as nearly every Indian capable of bearing arms had been urged into the service by Governor Shirley, besides the whites, upon the promise of an army of defence being stationed here, Mr. Edwards wrote to Colonel Israel Williams for relief.

In May, 1757, he wrote the Preface to the work on "Original Sin;" and he had commenced that on the "Harmony of the Old and New Testaments," and had in contemplation the preparation for the press of his sermons entitled "The History of Redemption," when his son-in-law, President Burr, died, September 24, 1757, and he was urged to become his successor. He had previously declined this office, and now with great reluctance, he assented, provided a Council, after hearing all his reasons, should decide upon a removal. January 4, 1758, the Council met. Dr. Hopkins was one of the number, and the Trustees of the College seem to have sent a delegation. The objections of both pastor and people were listened to, and after deliberation, the Council brought in their decision, that the cause of Christ called more loudly for the labors of Mr. Edwards at Princeton than at Stockbridge. Mr. Edwards always controlled his feelings in public; but at this announcement, he covered his face with his hands, and yielded to the relief of tears.

And now that we have come to the period when his labors as a Pastor were legally closed, we will run over his pastoral life, and pick up the threads of family history

which have been dropped ; for Mr. Edwards was a husband and a father, as well as a divine. July 28, 1727, Mr. Edwards married Miss Sarah Pierrepont, daughter of Rev. James Pierrepont of New Haven, and grand-daughter of John Pierrepont of Roxbury. Mrs. Pierrepont was the daughter of Rev. Samuel Hooker of Farmington, and grand-daughter of Rev. Thomas Hooker, the distinguished founder of Hartford. Her christian name was Mary. The Pierrepont family were a branch of the family of the Duke of Kingston, Pierrepont being the family name ; and Mrs. Edwards was cousin to Mary Pierrepont — Lady Mary Wortley Montague—and 20 years younger. She was born January 9, 1710 ; and grafted, on an unusual stock of common sense, a highly finished education. At an early age she was distinguished for her intimate acquaintance with the ancient classics. She was very beautiful too ; but her richest grace was an early, deep, fervent, and constant piety. At times she seemed almost rapt in visions of the unseen world, carried beyond what nature could long endure ; but these seasons did not leave her in a state of stupid re-action. On the contrary, she returned from the flight with wings as silver, and feathers as of yellow gold. Says her husband in after life, speaking of her even piety—“ For a long season no cloud would interrupt her joy, or hope. All tears would be wiped away, all sorrows forgotten, save the sorrow for sin ; and, living only to the glory of God, she would receive frequent, plain, sensible, and immediate answers to her prayers, which indicated a close and vital union between her soul and her God, a constant intercommunion with him, seldom enjoyed on earth.” In short, Mr. Edwards and his wife were kindred spirits ; and they knew it, and enjoyed the advantages of such a similarity. The student was not a recluse, scarcely recognizing his own family ; but as iron sharpeneth iron, so these companions sharpened the piety of each other. The study of Mr. Edwards, while in Stockbridge, was at the west end of his house, opening from the west parlor ; a little nook. Once or twice during each day he called in his wife for prayer ; here they always united in devotion after the family had retired at night ; and her visits for social interchange of thought were very frequent. His evenings were spent with his family in conversation upon the usual topics of the

day ; but always upon religion at the last. On Saturday, all labor was closed before the setting of the sun ; and the Sabbath was heralded in by a hymn of praise, and prayer.

Still, President Edwards was a close student during his hours of study ; and he never rode to the woods, his daily exercise in summer, without taking his pen with him to note down any happy thought which occurred ; and in the night a pin was often stuck in his curtain to recall some idea in the morning. In the winter he cut wood half an hour or more, each day, for exercise. Usually he devoted thirteen hours of the twenty-four to study. During the afternoon he felt exhausted, and took a cup of strong tea, the same leaves being again used by his prudent wife for the evening meal. His own meals were finished before those of his family ; and he would retire to his study and save the few minutes before he was recalled to say grace. To the government of his children he was very attentive ; but the temporal concerns of his household were left entirely to his wife. He knew his books, and his family, but never visited his people except in sickness, and did not know his own cattle. But he had not a happy talent at conversation, unless removed from all restraints, and consciously in the presence of true friends only. He seemed to be created expressly for the work which he accomplished, that of preacher and author.

The people of Stockbridge were generally united in Mr. Edwards, and much attached to him. When he rose in the pulpit, they expected a treat, not of oratory, but of truth ; and though his sermons were long, *very* long indeed, and he held his notes in one hand, resting his elbow on the desk, and seldom raised the other hand, except to turn over his leaves, yet the congregation looked astonished and disappointed at the close, that the discourse had been no longer. The last Sabbath which he spent in Stockbridge, President Edwards read the 20th chapter of Acts, so touchingly appropriate, and preached from the text—"We have here no continuing city, &c." When the day of his departure arrived, he made himself ready, took leave of his family, and stepped into the yard. Then turning back he said, "*I commend you to God,*" and left. These were his last words to them.

In February he was inaugurated, and entered upon

some of the duties of his office. But the Small Pox was prevailing in Princeton; and on the 13th of that month he was inoculated. At first, all seemed well; but some of the pustules being in the throat, he was unable to swallow the needful medicines, and, as it was expressed, "Jesus permitted him to fall asleep on the 22d of March, 1758."

When the news reached Stockbridge, Mrs. Edwards was in feeble health; but she bore it calmly, though deeply afflicted, and fully recovered. Mrs. Burr was inoculated at the same time with her father, and recovered. But April 27th she died, seemingly without any disease. Her physician said he could only say that "a messenger was sent to call her home." In September Mrs. Edwards went to Philadelphia to bring Sarah and Aaron Burr to Stockbridge. She passed through Princeton in perfect health; but on reaching Philadelphia, was taken ill, and died on the 2d of October. Her remains were taken to Princeton where they rest with those of her husband, and of President and Mrs. Burr. She was 58 years of age.

The children of President Edwards were all born in Northampton.

Sarah, Mrs. Parsons, was born Aug. 25, 1728, on the Sabbath.

Jerusha, born April 26, 1730. She was expected to have married Brainerd the missionary; but they both died in 1747.

Esther, Mrs. Burr, a woman of great piety, born Sabbath, Feb. 13, 1732, married in Stockbridge, June 9, 1752.

Mary, born Sabbath, April 7th 1734,—the mother of President Dwight.

Lucy, born Tuesday, Aug. 31, 1736,—was with her father at the time of his death, and afterwards married Jahleel Woodbridge.

Timothy, born Tuesday, July 25, 1738, married in 1760, and made a home in Elizabeth Town for the family.

Susannah, born Friday, June 20, 1740,—Mrs. Porter of Hadley.

Eunice, born Monday, May 9, 1743,—Mrs. Pollock of Carolina.

Jonathan, born May 26, 1745, Sabbath, President of Union College.

Elizabeth, born Wednesday, May 6, 1747, died at Northampton, 1762.

Pierrepont, born Sabbath, April 8, 1750, died at Bridgeport April 14, 1826.

The children of Mrs. Burr were taken by Timothy Edwards, Esq. who returned to Stockbridge in 1771. In 1775, Aaron was in Cambridge College, and from there joined the American Army and went with Arnold to Quebec. He is said to have lived in Stockbridge. He was, in the family of his uncle, an inhabitant of this place for a few years, but was little at home, and obtained none of his training here. We do not claim him as a Stockbridge Man and are happy not to do so; but it is pleasure to know that the child of such consecration showed signs of relenting at the close of his sinful career.

That part of the house which President Edwards built has been taken down, and another erected in its stead. His couch was burned with the house of Rev. Dr. Field during his ministry among us; but his cherry book-case, with its sliding doors of the same material, his leaf chair, an article much used in those days, and his consulting desk, which is either hexagonal or octagonal, and turns on a pivot, may still be seen in the house of Mrs. Cowles of Canaan, Ct.



SECTION XXX.

SUCCESSOR OF PRESIDENT EDWARDS—DR. STEPHEN WEST.

At the request of both Whites and Indians, the Council which met to dismiss President Edwards presented a request to the Commissioners that they would "call" Rev. John Brainerd, the much loved brother of David Brainerd to fill his place. The Trustees of the College of which he was one, were also requested to use their influence with Mr. Brainerd and his flock, to induce them to remove. Mr. Brainerd was, in 1753, pastor of the Indian congregation in Bethel, New Jersey, and had at this time his congregation in Cranbury, in the same State. They were considered the most virtuous, and religious collection of Indians in the country, being the same which was taught

by his brother. The Stockbridge Indians offered them land for a settlement if they would consent to remove with their pastor. About that time, he was succeeded at Cranbury by William Tenant, and removed to Great Egg Harbor, from which place he removed to Brotherton, N. J. But his reply to Stockbridge is not known.

At a Precinct Meeting in Feb. 1858, the Town voted to pay Mr. Stoddard, who was then preaching here, the same salary which had been paid to President Edwards, in proportion to the time which he should remain. There seems to have been no wish to retain him longer than till another could be found ; but for what reason does not appear.

Jan. 1759, it was voted to pay Rev. Stephen West an annual salary of £6 13s 4d, and 40 loads of wood delivered at his door, besides £40 settlement, lawful money, provided he remained as pastor. To this offer he assented, and was set over the people by the ceremony of ordination, June 13, 1759, having been "introduced to the town in November of 1758."

Mr. West was descended from Francis West, who emigrated from Salisbury, England, to Duxbury, by invitation, in the very early days of the Colony, and married Margery Reeves. Samuel, their eldest son married Triphosa Partridge, and was the father of Francis, who married Mercy Mina, and with his son, Judge Zebulon West, was among the early settlers of Tolland, Conn. Zebulon was the father of Stephen. His mother was Mary Delano, of Dartmouth, Mass. He was born in Tolland, Nov. 2, 1735 ; graduated at Yale College in 1755, studied Theology at Hatfield with Mr. Woodbridge, teaching school at the same time ; was licensed by the Hampshire Association, it is supposed near the close of 1757, or the beginning of 1758, and was soon after stationed at Fort Massachusetts in this County, as Chaplain. There he could have remained but a few months.

Soon after his settlement, he married Miss Elizabeth Williams, daughter of the late Col. Ephraim Williams ; and commenced house keeping in the dwelling erected by that gentleman, and used during the war as a Fort.

When settled, Mr. West was Arminian in his sentiments, and perhaps favored the Stoddardean views. But the

church were known to be established in the opposite doctrine, from the fact of their settling, and retaining President Edwards, even while he was still, through the press, carrying on the controversy with Mr. Williams of Lebanon; and Dr. West went forward in the course since pursued. There were at that time but four settled pastors, besides himself, within the present limits of the County, viz. Rev. Jonathan Hubbard of Sheffield; Rev. Thomas Strong of New Marlborough; Rev. Adonijah Bidwell of Tyringham, and Rev. Samuel Hopkins of Barrington. With Dr. Hopkins he soon formed an intimacy. Their sentiments were unlike, but both loved discussion; and the result of their discussions was a change of Mr. West's views, from Arminian, to the extreme of Calvinism. Believing that some would be lost, he reasoned that hence it was for the glory of God, and should be fully acquiesced in by his saints; and, if they were willing that any should perish, to be disinterested, they must be willing, themselves to be lost ones, and forever hate, and blaspheme their rightful sovereign and Savior, because he would thus be most glorified. Reasoning, not without plausibility, until we reach the result, and confront it with such Scriptures as—"He is not willing that any should perish;" "As I live, I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, &c." "Herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit." But in the case of Mr. West, the change was for good, and resulted, as he ever after believed, in his true conversion; not however until after a long season of conflict. The first person in his parish who noticed the change, was Mrs. Churchill. She was a very pious woman; and on returning from church the Sabbath after it took place, remarked that Mr. West was a new man. From this time must be dated his christian character. Doubtless he was exact, and systematic in many things before, but now his system was sanctified.

Dr. West was peculiarly methodical. To commence with the Sabbath;—His shoes were always brushed, and other personal preparations for the day of rest completed before the setting of the sun on the previous day, and Saturday night was really kept. On the Sabbath, no one was allowed to stroll in the street, fields, or even in the garden, over whom he had any control. His sermons were not

extempore, but only the leading ideas were noted down. One sermon would cover one quarter of a sheet of paper, and he always kept two or more on hand. His hours for close study were in the morning, between breakfast and eleven o'clock: then he wished to be by himself. The remainder of the day he often spent in his parlor; (generally so, until the latter part of his life, when Mrs. West sat in the study,) and even children who might be at his house, ran in and out at pleasure, without fear or restraint. Few students who have never been fathers, preserve a mind so free in old age, to enjoy, and enter into the feelings of childhood. He was not gay; but always mild, kind, and affectionate; so that while there was an unwillingness to displease him, there was no fear of offending. It is the testimony of an adopted daughter, that during the whole of her residence in his family, she never for once saw his temper in the slightest degree ruffled: and his colleague, who spent several years in his family, when too he was in the decline of life, says that he never saw him offended except in one instance; and then he quickly repented, and went to the kitchen to confess his fault, and ask forgiveness of the domestic whom he had sharply rebuked. His even habits had their foundation in an even temper.

When dressed in the morning, he always retired for private devotion. For breakfast he always ate a piece of toast of the same size, and drank two and one-half cups of coffee. With his tea, he ate a little bread, but no delicacies; and then, about seven in the evening, directed his housekeeper to cook for him a bit of meat, measuring the size on his finger. Occasionally she would cook a little more, sure of having it herself, for he never overstepped his prescribed limits. After this meal, he again retired for devotion; and after his second evening pipe, summoned the family for domestic worship, and retired for the night, expecting his household to do the same. This, if he was not particularly fatigued: but when weary from any cause, he wished to sit up and rest himself, after the house was quiet for the night.

His boots and shoes stood in the same place from year, to year, and his hat, whip, and overcoat, were always hung on the same nails. If about to undertake a journey, his hat and whip were taken down the night before start-

ing, and laid upon the table. As he never traveled in public conveyances he laid his plans for each day; and Miss Strong of Hartford once told him, that she believed the elements were subject to him, for his plans were always accomplished. It was often remarked, that his wife knew as well when to have his tea ready if he was to return from Newport, as if he had only gone to the village. He would never return on Saturday if it could be avoided; and never, once excepted, rode on the Sabbath in making his exchanges. Once the preservation of health required that he should not spend a second night where he could not sleep; a measure to which his brother, a boarder, and in no haste to return to his study, predicted he would be driven. He had no faith in dispensations to the teachers of morality, to set aside any of its claims; in a division of labor which should extend to preaching and practice, in any particular. Upon this point his principles were well defined, firm and unswervingly carried out.

In person he was small; and he always wore the cocked hat and short clothes common in his younger days, with "bands" at the neck like the Episcopal clergyman. By his people, and by others, he was beloved, and revered. It is related of a little boy in one of the neighboring towns, that being compelled to pass at night-fall through the woods with his cow, he always repeated constantly,—“Old Dr. West; Old Dr. West;” sure that no harm would come near him while he possessed such a protection.

In 1775, Dr. West resigned the care of the Indians to Mr. Sergeant, and received his support entirely from the whites. His salary was then £80; one year during the Revolutionary War it was not paid, and the town were for some time behind. But at length it was raised and he was thus enabled to paint his house, and indulge himself in some other comforts not before enjoyed. In 1792, he received from Dartmouth College the degree of D. D.; and at the founding of Williams College 1793, he was chosen one of the trustees, and also Vice President; which offices he held until age obliged him to resign, in 1812.

As an expounder of the Scriptures, Dr. West is said to have had no equal in the country; and he was much in the habit of expounding on one part of the Sabbath. In this way, he went twice through the New Testament. As

a preacher, he was highly esteemed. As a scholar, he was deep and industrious. Besides Latin and Greek, he read Hebrew, but not readily. He was conversant with the Septuagint. The church enjoyed several seasons of revival under his ministry, and he admitted three hundred and eighty-four persons to the church by profession. Of these, twenty-two were Indians. Nine hundred were baptized during the same period. When Dr. West married people of color, he always received the fee, but presented it to the bride.

The published works of Dr. West were mostly single sermons, but some were of a larger size. His *Essay on Moral Agency* was published in 1772, though preached soon after his conversion. *Treatise on the Atonement*, 1785; *Sermon on Marriage, and vindication of Stockbridge Church for its course in the matter*, 1779 and 1780; *Sermon on the Impotency of Sinners*, 1785 or 1790; *Sermon preached at the execution of Bly and Rose*, Dec. 6, 1787; *Ordination Sermons preached in 1795, 1802, 1806, and 1810*, were published in the same order; *Infant Baptism*, 1795; two *Sermons*, 1797; *Infant Baptism*, a second work, 1798; *Prayer for Ministers*, preached in 1802; *Life of Dr. Hopkins*, 1805; *Funeral Sermon*, 1808; three *Sermons on the Creation*, 1809; and an *Essay on the Divinity of Christ*, composed at the age of 80, and republished in England since his death, 1816. He also wrote for the various religious periodicals of the day.

Dr. West was not a believer in the pre-millennial advent of Christ; but he fully expected that that glorious morning of the church would be preceded by great convulsions in the political world which would cut off many of the enemies of God. The return of the Jews to their own land, too, and the tender love of the Christian Church for that nation, "whose were the fathers, and of whom, concerning the flesh, Christ came," were, he believed, to be parts of the blessedness and holiness of the millennial period. It has been asserted that he believed in the eternal punishment of infants for the depravity of their nature, inherited from Adam, and he has been professedly quoted upon that point. But before his death, he publicly denied the sentiments and remarks ascribed to him, and explained his views as simply these—that if a parent truly gave up a

child in baptism, it would be accepted and saved, whether it died in infancy, or lived to pass through the mental exercises of an adult convert. But, on the other hand, if this duty was purposely neglected, or if baptism was unaccompanied by a faith in the parent which was prepared to train the child for God, whatever provision the Gospel had made in behalf of the infant, the parent had no right to its consolations, and no revelation was granted to him upon the subject. He believed there was salvation for the child; but no covenant being entered into, and the child being incompetent to receive a promise, the whole matter lay in the secret councils of a holy God.

The people of Stockbridge were well indoctrinated under the ministry of Dr. West. His conference meetings, and his meetings for young men, and those for young women, in which questions were given out and written upon, were good schools of theology. But besides his own people he had many theological students, who fitted for the ministry under his care. Among them were Mr. Seth Swift, Mr. Freegrace Reynolds, Mr. Gamaliel Olds, Mr. Jacob Catlin, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Hallock, Mr. Samuel Spring, Mr. Samuel Whelpley, Mr. Amasa Jerome, Mr. John Sergeant, Mr. Steel, Mr. Prince Hawes, Mr. Thomas Robbins, Mr. Benjamin Bell, Mr. Holland Weeks, Mr. Elijah Wheeler, Mr. Peter P. Roots, Mr. Aaron Collins, Mr. Gordon Dorrance, and Mr. E. G. Swift, afterwards his colleague, &c. Many of these were distinguished in after life, particularly Dr. Spring, Professor Olds, Dr. Catlin, and Mr. Hallock.

The first wife of Dr. West was Miss Elizabeth Williams, as has been mentioned. His second wife was Miss Eleanor Dewey, daughter of Daniel Dewey of Sheffield, whom he married in Williamstown, in 1806. He was, of choice, dismissed from his charge, Aug. 27, 1818, and died May 13, 1819, aged 84. His second wife died in Sheffield, March 14, 1827, at the age of 73.

SECTION XXXI.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

WE come now to the stirring scenes of the Revolution, scenes of as much interest perhaps in Stockbridge, as in any inland town not the seat of actual conflict. July 6, 1774, a County Congress assembled here and sat two days, Wednesday and Thursday, passing resolutions, the principles of which were to recommend Thursday, the 14th of the month, as a day of Fasting and Prayer, in the hope that impending evils might be averted. It passed on Wednesday, and on Thursday they "solemnly, and in good faith, covenanted and engaged with each other," that they would "not import, purchase, or consume, or suffer any person for, by, or under them, to import, purchase or consume, in any matter whatever, any goods, wares, or manufactures, which should arrive in America from Great Britain, from and after the first day of October next, or such other time as should be agreed upon by the American Congress; nor any goods which should be ordered from thence from and after that day, until our Charter, and Constitutional rights should be restored, (except such articles as Congress should choose to import,) unless it should be found that other Colonies would not unite in this policy, or that the policy was unavailing." That they would strictly observe all constitutional law and authority, discountenance riots, mobs, &c., and endeavor to promote harmony and love throughout the community; withholding, however, all intercourse with dissenters therefrom. And as these measures would deprive them of many comforts and even necessities, they resolved to use every prudent measure for relief, promoting the culture of flax, the raising of sheep, and the manufacture of such materials as should be produced.

Other similar meetings were held during the war; and, besides resolves, such was the action of the Berkshire people,—and Stockbridge, it is said, "performed a good

deal of revolutionary service,"—that a Congress of 1778 could make the following declaration :—

"Your memorialists have, from the time of the Stamp Act, to the present day, manifested a constant and uniform abhorrence and detestation, not only in sentiment, but overt actions, of all the unconstitutional measures taken by the British Parliament to tax, depauperate, and subjugate these now United and Independent States of America. They can vie with any County in this State, not only in voluntarily appearing in arms upon the least notice, when their brethren in distress needed their assistance, as at the massacre at Lexington, the fight of Bunker Hill, &c., &c., but also in filling up their quotas of men from time to time demanded, either by this State, or by the commanding officer in these parts; although our situation has been such as might have justified the General Court, had they called upon us for no such supplies; over and above which, our zeal in the common cause has carried us beyond our abilities, in the frequent excursions against the common enemy, as in the battle of Bennington, in assisting Col. Brown in the capture of so many hundreds at the carrying-place at Ticonderoga, in the quelling of the tories at divers times in a neighboring State, and in other instances too numerous to enumerate."

In Stockbridge, no hero of the Revolution survives to tell the story, and the town records, as might perhaps be expected, are incomplete, so that a meager account only can be presented of our own part in the conflict. It is a matter of history that the women of Berkshire engaged in the cultivation of the fields, that their husbands and fathers might shoulder the musket; and in one district, at least, from which the most full returns have been obtained, it may readily be inferred that Stockbridge women must have held the plow. But, it may be asked, will woman defend the system of war, and commend those who have left the pruning-hook for the spear? We answer—we reason on this subject as we reason on the system of crime and its punishment—as we reason on the midnight assault of the robber, and the bold defence of his family by the "house-band." We had an example of non-resistance in 1755, in the case of Mr. Chamberlain—and we condemn it without qualification. We had an example of heroic resistance at the same time in the conduct of Mr. Owen, and we commend it. Personal wrongs should be forgiven, and endured with much long suffering; but law we must have;

public rights must be defended by those set for their defence, whether the belligerent be a beggar or a King; and it was upon this principle that our struggle for Independence was carried on. Thanks then to Him who has all hearts in his hands, that our fathers did not escape through the windows when the British war knife entered their dwelling place, and was shaken over the heads of their wives and children. Yes, a thousand thanks from woman's heart, that in the season of peril and death now to be recorded, the broad shield of manly strength, and manly daring, was extended over the wife, the mother, the sister and the daughter; and in commendation of those who, under Providence, won for woman the blessings of our favored land, let her grateful voice rise first, and let it die last.

How well Stockbridge was prepared for the struggle, with respect to military stores on hand, may be inferred from the small supply at that time in the colony. In 1756 also, when war was at their doors, the supply ordered to be purchased was only 30 lbs. of powder and 90 of lead.

April 14, 1775, the whole amount of public stores was 21,549 fire arms, 17,441 pounds of powder, 22,191 pounds of ball, 144,699 flints, 10,108 bayonets, 11,979 pouches; and those in the hands of the respective towns, exclusive of those in the Counties of Dukes and Nantucket, which made no returns, were—fire arms 68, powder 357 1-2 bbls., flints 100,531, ball 66,781 lbs.; being a little more than half a pound of powder to a man. Certainly there would have been no disposition to fight for the love of fighting. In 1775, Stockbridge borrowed £20 to purchase fire arms. In 1774, two regiments of minute men were raised in the county by voluntary enlistments.

The battle of Lexington was fought on Wednesday, April 19, 1775, and the news reached Berkshire on Friday about noon, men being sent to all parts of the country in the greatest possible haste. Indeed, they passed through a village in Worcester County, with such rapidity that the inhabitants half believed them spectres. Before sunrise on Saturday morning, the Berkshire regiment was on its way, "completely equipped in arms, and generally in uniform." They had enlisted for eight months; but most of them enlisted afterwards for a longer period, and

some during the war.* Among them were Deacon Samuel Brown, Thomas Williams, Esq., who resided on the Hill, a Major; William Goodrich, who resided in the house now occupied by Mr. Bill, a Captain; Captain James Stoddard, Jared and Elkanah Bishop, and probably Mr. Charles Stone, from the vicinity of the Pond, and Mr. Daniel Phelps, who was accidentally shot, May, 1775, and died in two days.† Maj. Elnathan Curtis is also believed to have been of the number. He resided near Curtisville.

The company, being commanded by Col. Patterson of Lenox, marched directly to Cambridge, where it was re-formed and enlarged, and divided into northern and southern divisions. Col. Patterson received command of the first, and Col. Fellows of Sheffield of the last.—Esquire Williams, the Bishops, and Capt. Stoddard, and probably Solomon Stoddard, were placed under Col. Patterson, and Capt. Goodrich and Maj. Curtis, under Col. Fellows.

* This does not accord with the account repeatedly published; and as Col. Edwards was consulted some months previous to his death, an apology is due to his friends for the liberty we have taken in departing from the testimony of a credible eye witness. Col. Edwards was, at the opening of the war, four and a half years old; and admitting the strength of early impressions, we must still prefer the testimony of the late venerable Judge Walker, who was an officer in the regiment of Col. Patterson, and whose reminiscences were recorded by Dr. Field, from his own lips. Other circumstances also tend to prove that the above statement is correct, and that the memory of Col. Edwards retained, of two similar names, the wrong one. The time of the battle is certain, and so also is the fact that the battle of Bennington was fought on Saturday, and that the news reached this vicinity on the Sabbath, New Marlborough at 11 A. M. Again, Maj. Curtis left his labor in the field to obey the sudden call of his country, a little time before the birth of one of his children. The births of his first two children, neither of whom lived, are not recorded. The third was born in May, 1778. It was not then, we suppose, when he went to Bennington, August, 1777, but when he went to Cambridge. For these reasons, the scene described by Col. Edwards is believed to belong to a later date, and will be given at a future time.

† See Appendix (H.)

The northern division received employment soon after in Charlestown, and erected Fort No. 3, the first fort on the lines about Boston. This post they manned and defended, by command of Gen. Ward, on the 17th of June, the day of the Bunker Hill battle. Their object was to prevent an attack by the British upon the rear of the Americans actually engaged. Capt. Stoddard used to say, that when he saw the enemy coming up he "found he was losing his countenance." Unwilling that his comrades should see him falter, he stepped aside to recover his courage; but when he returned, "they all looked as pale as himself." Some time after this, when he had learned to control his features, he was asked how it happened that he was never afraid in battle. "O!" he replied, "I am as much afraid as any of you, but I don't show it."

There are others, whose names have been given as soldiers of the Revolution, from Stockbridge, and who, very probably, belonged to these regiments; but no incident of their history gives them any particular locality. Gen. Marsh, who kept a public house here, is believed, by his daughter, to have been in the Lexington engagement; but more probably he was in the battle of Bunker Hill. He was in the army at some period, as Captain of a company of minute men raised in Stockbridge, and being sick most of the time, Moses Nash, who was Lieutenant, took the command in his absence. Deacon Samuel Brown was Commissary.

The regiment of Col. Fellows was employed about Roxbury until the British evacuated Boston, March, 1776, after which they were ordered to New York. A part of Col. Patterson's command volunteered to follow Arnold up the Kennebec, and across the wilderness to Quebec.— Among them were Esquire Williams and the Bishops. Esquire Williams belonged to a detachment which returned from the mouth of Dead River, owing to the impossibility of obtaining sustenance for all; the Bishops seem to have gone forward. Their hardships were dreadful; at one time Jared Bishop had no regular food for 15 days except one sea-biscuit.

This company left on the 13th of September, and were engaged at Quebec, Dec. 31, when Arnold received his first wound. The Americans were foiled in their attempt

upon the city, and the winter was one of suffering. The small pox broke out, and the soldiers being bent upon inoculating themselves, multitudes were sick at one time. They had one station on the river, called the Cedars ; but Arnold was at Montreal, forty miles distant.

We must now return to the remainder of Col. Patterson's regiment who were left at, or who returned to, Boston. These went with the detachment of Col. Fellows to New York, and from thence they were ordered to Quebec, to assist the force about to join Arnold. On their way, Esquire, then Lieutenant Colonel, Williams, was taken ill, and left at Skenesborough, where he died July 10th. Before the company reached Canada, they heard of the ill success of the American arms, but probably felt that they were only the more needed, as they pressed on. Soon after reaching Montreal, they heard of an attack upon the Cedars, to which some of them had immediately been dispatched. Arnold marched with his force from Montreal, but learned of the surrender of the Fort before reaching it. The fear of the Indians, rather than the power of the enemy, had gained this victory ; and now Arnold was compelled to sign the cartel, which he was told had been signed by the Commander, and threatened that a refusal would be the death-warrant of every prisoner. This act was censured by Congress ; and it is known that one officer from Canaan, Ct., by the name of Stephens, refused at this time to surrender to the British, until his own commander threatened to fire upon him if he persisted in his resolution. The regiment of Col. Patterson retreated after this affair and spent a short time at Crown Point. They then went to Ticonderoga, crossed the bay, and fortified Mount Independence in Orwell, where they remained until November. During that month they were marched to Albany, and there shipped to Esopus, from whence they proceeded through the Minisink country, through Nazareth and Bethlehem, and joined the army under Washington at Newtown, Pa. When they left New York, the regiment of Col. Patterson numbered more than 600 ; but when it was again united to that of Washington, it had been reduced to 220. Some had fallen in battle, some had died of small pox, others had been left in Canada as hostages or prisoners, and others still had been left sick by the way.

Nor had the company of Col. Fellows been idle. During the summer of '76 they were with Washington in and about New York, and at its close were sent to aid the detachment posted near Kip's Bay. On their march, they met the van-guard retreating in terror from the fire of Clinton, who had landed 4000 men at that point. The regiments of Parsons and Fellows caught the panic; and though Washington was behind, hastening to their relief, the soldiers fled in all directions. It now became necessary to evacuate New York, and this was effected by Gen. Putnam with little loss. Major Curtis was among those who withdrew, and was warmly engaged in an action which took place at the time. "This is hot work," he remarked, wiping the perspiration from his face with the sleeve of his coat, "hot work." He was also at the battle of White Plains, Oct. 28th of that year, and from thence perhaps followed the fortunes of his comrades to Newtown, where we may now, probably, find all the remaining soldiers of the first two Berkshire regiments, though we have been able but imperfectly to trace the movements by which they have reached that point.

The campaign had been a disastrous one. The British were in possession of Philadelphia, and Cornwallis was in New York, nearly ready to sail for England, freighted with the intelligence that no further resistance would be made. Some bold stroke was necessary on the part of Washington; and it must be successful or all was lost. The enemy, expecting nothing from a handful of ragged, starving soldiers, were at ease, and a surprise might turn the scale in our favor. The 24th of December came. The night gathered cold and dark, the snow fell fast, and the roads were slippery. Little did Gen. Howe look for the Christmas visit which Washington was preparing to pay him. But starving men could brave a storm to obtain sustenance, and northern men, at least, were familiar with snow.

Washington divided his soldiers into three companies, and ordered them to cross the Delaware at different points, and attack Howe at Trenton. Those who had returned from Canada, if not the southern Berkshire division, were with him, and his was the only portion which effected a passage. At three o'clock in the morning, before the

merry salutations of the day had commenced, the British were surprised. History gives the particulars of the battle; suffice for us to say, that the Americans took one thousand prisoners, and one thousand stand of arms, besides six field pieces, with the loss of only two killed, and two frozen to death. They then secured Philadelphia, and the next day recrossed the river.

This was the opening of a new day for the country. Hope brightened; fears were thrown to the winds; and the army of Washington increased so rapidly, that early in January he was able to recross the river with five thousand men. Cornwallis abandoned his projected voyage, and proceeded to New Jersey. The advance party met the army of Washington at Princeton, and, under command of Mawhood, made an attack, ignorant of the strength of their foe. Here the battle of Princeton was fought, Jan. 2, 1777. Washington is represented as mounted on his white steed, and looking, as he rode above his army, "more like a guardian angel, than like a man." Cornwallis came in sight just as his army took the road to Morristown, at which place, the Berkshire soldiers still with him, he took up his winter quarters. And there we must leave them for the present, and look in once more upon the old home.

During the summer of 1776, a regiment from Berkshire proceeded to Ticonderoga under the command of Samuel Brewer, Colonel; and as Dr. Erastus Sergeant was one summer at Ticonderoga under Capt. Cook of Curtisville, and his son remembers to have seen the muster roll among his father's papers, the probability is that he was Orderly Sergeant in the company.

By this time the depreciation of the currency had become very considerable, and the expense of supporting the army a serious question. In March, 1775, the town had voted that Congress should go on as usual in collecting taxes agreeably to law, and be supported therein. In January, 1776, with but one dissenting voice, it was voted that the inhabitants of Stockbridge would support civil authority in this county; and at the same time £50 was voted to purchase ten tents for the inhabitants. In December of the same year, Col. Brown of Pittsfield was sent to Mount Independence with a regiment of militia,

but we find no evidence that Stockbridge men were among them. In 1777, large bodies of men were dispatched to assist Generals Stark and Gates in opposing the plans of Burgoyne, and in these our citizens were more or less engaged. It was during that winter that Agrippa Hull was enlisted, and of course others were engaged at the same time. Capt. Goodrich had returned, and was engaged as recruiting officer. But Capt. Stoddard was in the battle of Bennington, and therefore may be numbered as now enlisted for a second time, and for this service. Maj. Curtis also had returned previously to that battle, and was one of twenty minute men who stood ready at the time. Jahleel Woodbridge, Esq., was commander of the band.

In August, Col. Baum, as is well known, was sent by Burgoyne to plunder the American stores at Bennington. Alarm spread through the country, and Gen. Stark, with all the characteristic ardor of his Irish soul, and with the forgiving spirit of a true patriot, buried his real or supposed wrongs in the sod which he had tilled, exchanged the plow for the sword, and rushed to the defence of his adopted country. Berkshire men, from towns as far south as Pittsfield, joined his army, and others stood ready to go at the sound of the signal guns. Several parties were met, and still the enemy pressed on, halting only at the distance of four miles from the town. New supplies were at hand, and Stark resolved to attack Baum in his camp before he should be reinforced. The encampment was on a branch of the Hoosuck, called variously Walloon Creek, Walloomsack, &c., near Van Schaack's Mills, and within the bounds of New York. The day was Saturday, Aug. 16, 1777. The Hessian commander did all that could be done ; but after two hours of hot conflict, the Hessians gave way, and the army was routed. Soon Breyman came up with a reinforcement and renewed the battle. Stark, however, was also reinforced by Warner, and maintained his position. The engagement was kept up until dark, and then Breyman escaped with a small part of his force to the British camp, leaving his artillery and baggage to be added to the American stores which Baum had been sent to secure. This action had been preceded by a day of solemn fasting and prayer in New Hampshire, in view of the impending danger.

In Stockbridge, the booming of the cannon alone told of the battle. There was danger—there was death and desolation somewhere; but “where?” and “how near?” “who were suffering?” and “how soon?” and “from what quarter?” the foe might be upon them with fire and sword, was left for torturing imagination to answer. Those whose names were on the minute roll, might be summoned at any instant to exchange home and all that they had garnered there for the tent and the battle-field, and those who had friends in the northern army justly imagined them in the conflict. And as that night gathered its curtain of unusual darkness around their dwellings, as families turned from the untasted meal to prepare for the possible midnight attack, or for the sudden warning to the enlisted; as the yet unbroken circle gathered once more around the family altar, trustful devotion seeking to gain the mastery, over fears and murmurings,—or as the prayerless household, without God and without hope, sought the pillow which contained no promise,—fancy fails to tell the varied, and ever varying emotions which surged the hearts of all in this, our now safe and quiet dwelling place. But the night passed, undisturbed except by the bark of some wakeful sentinel at the door, the frightful dreams of childhood, the rustling of the leaves, or the pattering of the rain-drops; and a Sabbath morning, almost of necessity, brought some hope of good. The frugal board was again spread and welcomed, the prayerful breathed gratitude for deliverance, and the timid child laughed at its dreamy terrors, climbed the father’s knee, looked fearlessly into the face of a parent—not a soldier—and, as it was not wont on other Sabbaths, talked gaily of the gun and knapsack now thrown aside. Even the cold, drizzling rain was half enjoyed in the comfort of protection from its power,—when suddenly a gun is heard! and as they listen, breathless, another, and still another. “To arms! to arms!” Not a child but understood their dreadful import, and not a heart in Stockbridge but beat that moment with anxiety or grief. A few parting words, a few hasty kisses, and we must leave the cradle and the hearth-stone, for the scenes which were transpiring in the village—the exterior of war, with which, alone, history has usually anything to do.

The village, as all must know, was not what we have

known it. The public house was low, though of two stories, and entered by a door cut crosswise. The corner now occupied by Mr. Curtis was vacant, and only two or three small houses stood between that corner and the next. School-house Lane was not then opened. Two houses, only, stood below the dwelling of Capt. Goodrich ; and west of Major Owen's there was the former residence of Mr. Sergeant, (then the dwelling of Mr. Kirkland,) a low house occupied by Mr. James, (father of the distinguished physician of that name,) Mr. Tucker's, (now Mr. Brinton's,) Widow Betty's, the "Peck house," and perhaps the houses now owned by Mr. Carter, and Mrs. Curtis. At eight o'clock Jahleel Woodbridge and Deacon Nash came from the east, and taking their stand at the corner, fired two signal guns. Timothy Edwards, Esq., had built the house now owned by Major Owen, (of one and a half stories, with a porch in front, and a store across the east end.) At the sound of the alarm guns, he took down his own weapon, and, standing beside them, fired the third. Soon the people began to assemble, some as spectators, and others equipped for service. Dr. West, too, came down the hill, with Bible in his hand and intercession in his heart ; the rain fell slowly, but coldly ; the pastor stepped upon the porch, his flock gathered around him, and there he read, and prayed, and counseled ; the partings were uttered, the hearts nerved to duty, and before noon the army was on its march. Esquire Woodbridge was Captain. Dr. Partridge was either with them as surgeon, or had hurried on before ; but of the men we only know that Major Curtis was among them. The express had been sent before the event of the engagement could be conjectured, and the soldiers pressed on until near daylight on Monday morning, when they met another herald, and learned that the battle was over and the victory won.

Dr. Partridge used often to relate, that during the busy scenes which followed the conflict, he noticed blood upon the sleeve of Capt. Stoddard, and remarked to him—"Well, Captain, you were shot." "Why, no," was the answer, "not that I have known." The ball had not entered his arm ; but it had grazed it deeply, and so great had been the excitement, that this was his first knowledge of the fact.

After this victory, Col. Brown was sent by Lincoln from Pawlet, Vt., to the north end of Lake George—a successful expedition; David Pixley is believed to have been of this company. August 22d, the siege of Fort Schuyler, on the Mohawk, was raised,—soon after which, Capt. Gregg, one of our officers at that station, was so wonderfully preserved by the sagacity of Tray, “his dog, the trustiest of his kind,” a circumstance familiar to the readers of the *American Preceptor*;—Gates, having taken the place of Schuyler, had been reinforced by a detachment sent from New Jersey by Washington, and September 19th, fought the victorious battle of Stillwater; Morgan frequently met and defeated the Indians about Saratoga, until both Indians and Tories deserted the British army; September 29th, the army of Lincoln joined that of Gates; October 7th, another battle was fought, disastrous to the British, Fort Edward was retaken, and October 13th, Burgoyne made proposals of surrender to Gates, which were confirmed on the 16th, and the splendid British army which had spread terror through the country, grounded arms at the command of its officers, and became a company of prisoners. The regiment under Col. Patterson was in this engagement, but whether sent by Washington with Morgan, or forming a part of the army of Lincoln, does not appear; most probably, however, the first. Daniel Gaines of Curtisville was shot by an Indian while on guard at Fort Edward; but at what time, is not specified. His mother was sister to old Mr. Churchill, and lived opposite the present “white factory.”

The news of this victory soon reached Stockbridge, and as Dr. Partridge was about to pay a visit to Hatfield, he scattered it along the way as he went. Preparations were made for the supply of the prisoners, as they passed on to Boston, whence they were to sail for England. But it was finally decided to send them to Virginia.

In November of that year, a meeting was called in Stockbridge to levy a tax for the support of the families of non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, agreeably to the act of Legislature. £80 was decided upon as the sum. March, 1778, £36 was voted for the purchase of tents, to be immediately procured. May, £210 were ordered to be borrowed for the payment of seven men to

be enlisted for nine months, according to Legislative requirements, and in November £100 more, for the support of families. In August of this year another County Convention was held, whose memorial has been noticed.

In March, 1779, the town unanimously voted themselves bound by the doings of the "Great and General Court." In 1780, they voted £300 12s. to Elias Gilbert, and £789 7s. to Asa Bement, for their services at the State Convention. Besides the drain of war under usual circumstances, the continental currency had so depreciated that by the opening of the next year, seventy-two paper dollars went for one of silver.

June 5, 1780, the Selectmen were required to enlist the men ordered by the General Court, and on the 19th they were instructed to offer them twenty shillings a month in addition to the pay allowed by the Government. This was to be paid in silver or gold; and they were to receive so much of the same in advance as they might immediately need. £100 was raised for the purpose. July 7, the Selectmen were ordered to procure the horses required of the town, and to make the purchases upon the credit of either the town or the State, as should be desired. £4,500 were assessed for the same. It was also voted that the same sum should be paid to the three men now enlisted for six months, as had been paid to those enlisted in June. £10 were raised for the encouragement of the six months men. Every man who would voluntarily enlist in the militia for three months, was also promised twenty shillings a month over and above the State wages, and £50 was raised for this purpose. £3000 was also voted for clothing for the army, being the same which was voted the previous year. Mr. Abel Curtis was appointed to distribute clothing to the army. He used often afterwards to speak of a poor little white haired boy, whom he took with him, and who afterwards became a man of wealth and influence, and the proprietor of a township in New York, called, in honor of him, Pennington.

Early in October, 1780, some of our citizens accompanied Col. Brown, who was sent to protect the Mohawk Valley, and stationed at Fort Arabia, in Palatine, N. Y. The English, Tories and Indians were in the habit of plundering that county every autumn, and on the 19th of Oct.,

the birth-day of Col. B., he received, at breakfast, a notice that they were coming through the wood which terminated on rising ground a short distance from the Fort. He was ordered to attack them, upon the assurance that another band would fall upon them in the rear. Little farther relish was felt for the breakfast, and the band of one hundred and thirty were soon ready for action. As they came to the open ground, the enemy emerged from the wood, and the action commenced. But no relief came, the Col. fell, and his men were chased three miles to Fort Paris, forty-five being killed.

Daniel Churchill, of Curtisville, is supposed to have been among the slain. He was shot when his fellow soldiers were running from the Indians. Being lame, he could not keep up with them. This circumstance was to his mother a bitter ingredient in the cup: that his infirmity should be the cause of his death, instead of screening him from harm, was a sore trial. Josiah Bradley, of the east part of the town, never recovered from his exertions that day, though he lived many years, and engaged in active business. In October, Stockbridge granted £7000 to purchase beef; and in December, twelve men being ordered, a committee was chosen to devise ways and means for their payment. They reported the same day, that the men should be promised, that the present value of wages ordered by Congress, should be kept good; that £184 be assessed, to be paid in gold, silver or wheat; the town to borrow the same until it could be collected; which must be done as soon as January 10, 1781. The men were to be paid \$50 each, in gold or silver, and those who enlisted during the war, were entitled still to the bounty engaged by the Commonwealth.

December 28, a committee was chosen to procure beef or grain; and at an adjourned meeting one week from that time, £18,000 were ordered to be assessed for the purpose, payable in money or in rye at \$54, corn \$45, or oats at \$27 per bushel.

July, 1781, £80 in silver or gold was ordered for the purchase of five thousand, eight hundred and seventy-four pounds of beef, and £50 for clothing. But this allowance for beef was insufficient, for in September, £40 more were voted to make the sum required, and in March, 1782, £80 still more were raised.

Another vote, of July 18, instructed the Militia officers to enlist the men required by the Act of June, engaging to them £3 10s. in gold or silver, (including wages,) per month, and twenty shillings bounty, to be paid before they marched. The sum assessed for the purpose was £140, silver or gold. This, as was repeatedly the case, was to be borrowed until it could be raised by taxation.

April, 1782, £180 was ordered to be raised, to pay the notes given to the two years men in 1781, and at the same time £68 was ordered, to make the last payment to the three years men ; and also, four men were ordered to be enlisted on as reasonable terms as possible. In 1801 Continental money passed entirely out of use. "The last payment which I remember to have seen made in it," said one now deceased, "was at general training or on an election day, when \$400 was paid for a mug of flip."

Jahleel Woodbridge Esq. was Commissary ; and while provisions were kept in his barn, military stores were deposited in the cellar. Rev. Dr. Woodbridge, his son, speaks of Ethan Allen as driving into town one Sabbath during the war, with a long train of sleighs, to procure provisions for the army. Mr. Isaac Curtis, of Curtisville, enlisted in the service, but was sent home to aid his country in the more pleasant work of preparing flour. Elijah Jones enlisted as Orderly Sergeant, with a Commissary's commission, in March, 1781, but performed the duties of a common soldier until prevented by the sickness of which he died April 6, 1782. Caleb Bennett was out several times for a few months. Phineas Brown, a Surveyor, and nephew to Deacon Brown, who lived on the ground now occupied by Mrs. Dwight, but in the house now owned by Mr. M. Miller, was in the war, and at one time during his service, sick at Albany. Solomon Stoddard, Elijah, Elnathan and Wheeler Higbee of Curtisville, Paul Jones, Abner Rockwell, Lent Bradley, (the last two from East Street,) Elijah Andrews, from the Southwest part of the town, John Dean, and Mr. Ward, were also among the Stockbridge soldiers. John Jerome was a soldier, and a native of Stockbridge, but his residence in town at the time, is uncertain. Agrippa Hull was at the South, and it is said that those early engaged, were there after the taking of Burgoyne, and those enlisted later, most proba-

bly with Washington in the Middle States. Voluntary companies were also formed in the county for the extirpation of Toryism in the vicinity, and doubtless Stockbridge furnished a share of the men for this service.* But of these, and of the many regular soldiers whose names are not given, we have been able to gather nothing. April 19, 1783, however, the treaty of peace was made known to the army, just eight years from the time when hostilities commenced, and all returned to be once more "men among their fellow men."



SECTION XXXII.

SECOND CHURCH IN STOCKBRIDGE.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great expense of the Revolutionary struggle, our liberty was no sooner achieved than the people of Stockbridge commenced the erection of a new house of worship. In April, 1782, a committee was chosen, to be paid by the town, consisting of William Williams, Timothy Robinson, and Nathan Hall, who were requested to meet in behalf of Stockbridge, listen to any arguments which should be presented by Esquire Edwards, Judge Bacon, Deacon Nash, and Esquires Samuel and Elijah Brown, and giving to them such weight as they considered due, fix upon a site for the building. The report, presented by Mr. Williams, recommended a locality near the house of Elijah Brown, Esq., and earnestly suggested "that the people of Stockbridge should there erect

*An old gentleman of Richmond used to remark that he then thought it no sin to shoot a Tory: and once meeting a man of that class on one of the mountains about Stockbridge, (we believe Monument,) he seized him, and was about to put him instantly to death. But the Tory begged a few moments' reprieve in which to commit his soul to God, which could not be refused. He knelt down, and the fervency of his prayer completely disarmed the spirit of his captor. He could shoot a Tory, but he could not shoot a Christian; and his prisoner was set at liberty.

a decent and honorable house, where they might with one heart and mind worship and serve the Great God of Love and Peace, which will continue to characterize this respectable people."

In September, the sum of £1000 was voted for the building, to be paid in money, grain, or neat cattle, at the market prices; the building committee being authorized to move from the exact locality recommended, twenty feet in either direction. But in January, 1783, the whole was reconsidered, and a committee chosen from both parts of the town, south and north, to consult together, and, if possible, devise some measures which should give more general satisfaction. January 20th, they voted that the town unite in building a house on the high ground east of the house of Mr. Asa Bement, and that £700 be appropriated for that purpose. The house was to be fifty feet by sixty, the posts twenty-six feet long, and the steeple sixty-two feet high, and erected at the east end of the house, opposite the pulpit. The pews were to be square. £200 were afterwards raised during that year, £380 in March of 1784, and £14 for the completion of the steeple in September of the last year. As it had been necessary to borrow some part of the funds, the money allowed to the town by the Commonwealth was appropriated for the payment of the debt.

Another vote, of September, 1784, gave to Dr. Partridge the liberty of erecting at his own expense a large pew, over the entrance doors of the gallery, to be used by him as he pleased, during his residence in town, except so much of it as should be occupied by the tythingmen.

In 1785, the ground about the house was put in order, the sheds for horses built, and the house cleaned, and, doubtless, dedicated. But the situation was found to be a very bleak one. In May, 1797, alterations and repairs were ordered; and again in 1804, besides internal repairs, it was voted, as a measure of safety, to reduce very much the height of the steeple.

The lower part of the house was entered on three sides, aisles crossing each other at right angles; and another aisle ran quite around the house, within the wall pews. Over the pulpit was a large, roofed projection, like the frame work of a canopy, designed to reflect the sound

from the high, old-fashioned pulpit, upon the congregation below. The galleries turned at right angles, and were so deep that back of the three parallel seats there was room for an aisle, and square pews. The communion table was half an ellipse; and, when not in use, hung down from a breast-work in front of the pulpit. Behind this breast-work, and almost beneath the pulpit, was the seat for the pastor and deacons. The house was white without, but except the "high pew," and the pulpit, with its "sounding board," all was unpainted within. No carpets, it is believed, were ever introduced, and even the comfort of a stove was for 30 years unknown; yet many happy hours were spent there, and many grateful thoughts will revert to that spot as the song of praise swells on to all eternity.

When the ground was prepared to erect this church, many human bones were discovered, supposed to be those of the Indians, overtaken and slain here by Major Talcott in 1675.

Though only the orchard of Dr. West lay between his house and the new church, the distance by the road was over two miles. He accordingly gave the ground, and a road was cut through in a nearly direct line, to the great accommodation, not only of the hill people and those in the east part of the town, but also to the pedestrian villagers, who, during the summer season, almost universally preferred even a hill, with its freedom from dust, its shades, and its continuous and beautiful views, to the burning sands of the plain.

This church was taken down soon after the erection of the one now occupied in the village, its bleak situation, and the decayed state of its timbers rendering it an unsafe object to pass.



SECTION XXXIII.

THE SHAYS REBELLION.

As we pass through the struggle of our country for freedom, all who know in the least what it is to earn their bread, must wonder what could be left for the future sub-

sistence of the people, and particularly of those in moderate circumstances. If they had not been called, themselves, to the tented field, the support of those who had gone, as we have seen, required all, and more than all which could be spared, and private creditors being less urgent than public, heavy debts were incurred in procuring the necessaries of life. Often, too, the demands of the army could not be met by the people at large, and recourse must be had to loans from moneyed individuals, for which the towns became responsible. These must afterwards be paid by means of taxation. Previous to the war, the debt of Massachusetts fell short of £100,000 ; but now its private debt was more than £1,300,000, besides £250,000 due to the officers and soldiers in their line of the army, and their proportion of the federal debt was not less than £1,500,000. How could the people be expected to endure this without complaints? They had fought against taxes and imposts ; but now they found themselves ground lower by the government which they had bled to establish, than they had ever been by England ; and to increase the distress, the war, severe as it had been, had nevertheless fostered a roving, restless spirit, and in the higher classes a desire for foreign luxuries ; while, at the same time, it had nearly destroyed all foreign commerce. Money was almost the only export ; and so fast as application to business returned, and was directed to the restoration of commercial intercourse with Europe, the country was drained of its specie, to bring home to the rich what the poor could scarcely look through their needs to covet.

In this state of things law-suits were numerous and distressing ; and lawyers multiplied as their trade flourished, until both courts and lawyers came to be looked upon by the suffering, as enemies to the public welfare ; and this, not in Massachusetts only, but in several other states of the Union. But we have only to do now with the disturbances which convulsed our own Commonwealth, and spread terror once more among our own families.

At first, peaceable measures were resorted to : the Legislature was petitioned, and tradesmen or farmers, rather than lawyers, were chosen to represent the people. But what could the Legislature do ? It could not create funds, nor pass sumptuary laws to restrain the expenses of the

rich ; nor declare a gregarian statute : and the proposal to issue a paper currency which should systematically depreciate, was discarded as unjust, and impolitic. Efforts were made, which we must not stop to enumerate ; but “the destruction of the poor is their poverty.” Those who called loudest for reform, were the very persons whose straitened circumstances had shut them out from the means of gaining a clear and far sighted understanding of the difficulties under which they labored. There were others, whose wishes had been overruled in the House to their chagrin, and who were ready to lead on the multitude to rebellion, in the hope of gaining triumphs for themselves ; but there was still a nobler band who pitied the distress which they had not power to relieve. They felt that the discontented were struggling like the drowsy invalid, ignorantly, and hopelessly, and they urged that it was but the impulse of misery, which should be quieted with the most compassionate care. They therefore refused to take up arms against their fellow citizens, preferring the fine to what they deemed a sin. Others again, particularly royalists, looked with an illy concealed pleasure upon the discontent, as an argument in favor of a less republican form of government. The Senate too were disposed to show the utmost clemency ; and the evil had every opportunity to form, and gather strength before any force to oppose it could be raised, and *depended* upon.

The counties of Hampshire and Berkshire felt that they were appraised too high, and, of course, paid more than their share of the taxes ; so that they raised one complaint above the usual number. Still the Convention of the malcontents of Berkshire, held in Lenox, the last of August 1786, was distinguished for its moderation, its just praise of the efforts of Government for their relief, its respect for the young Republic, its dissent to a depreciating currency, and its solemn pledge to do all in the power of the members to support the Courts of Justice, and to allay the prevailing agitation. Had these principles but withstood the popular tide, *our* county might have been spared the horrors of civil war ; but they did not, and Berkshire, and (we must confess it,) even Stockbridge men were among the insurgents.

Passing over events which occurred in other parts of the

State, and simply mentioning the persuasive of the Government to peace, which was ordered to be read in all the churches either upon Thanksgiving Day, or at some other meeting called for religious worship during the week—a part of the “exercises” which must have produced a sensation in the audience difficult for us now to conceive,—the offer of pardon to all who would take the oath of allegiance before the first of January, 1787, and the threat of arrest and imprisonment, without bail or mainprise, between January and July, in case of refusal or neglect of this mercy, and the regular opening of the war by the insurgents, we will now confine our attention to the scenes which transpired in our own immediate neighborhood.

A party of the insurgents had assembled at Barrington during the autumn of 1786, broken up the court, opened the jail, &c., and again, still later, with the intent of opposing the Supreme Court, notwithstanding its session had been abandoned on their account; and finding nothing in their ordinary line of business to be done, they searched houses, fired upon some of the citizens, pursued such as were particularly obnoxious to them, and threatened the *life* of Judge Sedgwick of this town. Early in the year 1787, Eli Parsons had 400 Berkshire men under his command; and after the intelligence of this open violence, alarm had spread throughout the community. The papers of Judge Sedgwick were deposited for safe keeping in the house of Dr. West, and money belonging to President Edwards, the younger, was buried in his garden. Neighbors distrusted each other. Property, and even life was felt to be in hourly danger; and each man, still true to his country, was afraid to take the field, lest vengeance should be immediately visited upon his family by some insurgent in his vicinity. During the winter, eight sleigh loads of provisions were intercepted at one time, sent from this county to the rebel army. February 15, Parsons put out a circular, calling upon his “fellow sufferers to resent unto relentless blood,” and to collect in Berkshire for the purpose “of Burgoyning Lincoln and his army;” and it had been already made manifest to the citizens of Berkshire that they had those in their midst who, to the utmost of their *courage*, would stand side by side with such leaders. But there was one mitigation; they all, to a man, were

afraid of being killed, or even wounded. They fought for gold; and for that it would be useless to part with life.

During the winter, the disaffected of this vicinity who had not joined the main body took up arms at home, and it was anticipated that in case the army was defeated in the eastern and middle counties, they would, by the aid of the home force, take possession of the fastnesses of the Green Mountains at the east of us, and spread desolation through the county. Under these circumstances, the citizens banded together for mutual defense, and a company of 500 men was formed. Stockbridge was chosen as the headquarters, sentinels stood on guard, or patrolled our streets at night, demanding the "pass" of every one, and armed soldiers, among whom George Kirkland is mentioned as conspicuous, attended the religious services of the Sabbath. In Sheffield a company was formed, but so great was the danger that they did not venture to come up until another company from Barrington went down and joined them. Muddy Brook or Barrington Hollow, and similar localities, were the hives from which the enemy issued, and in which the friends of order were in greatest danger; and the road then took this direction. It was not long before a band of rebels had collected at West Stockbridge under the command of Hubbard, amounting to between 150 and 200 men, and the number was continually increasing. The only way to prevent bloodshed was to disperse them as early as possible. The army at Stockbridge was duly authorized to act independently, government having requested the citizens to defend themselves, as far as it could be done, without calling upon the public force. Accordingly the whole body was formed into three divisions, and while the central took the direct route through Lara-vaugh, and over the mountain, to the village, a second, under Capt. Goodrich, took the southern, and the third, under Major Rowley of Richmond, took a more northern route. As an advance party of the central division, consisting of 37 infantry, and 7 cavalry, approached the insurgents, they were fired upon by the sentries, and the whole rebel force was at once formed in order of battle, and commanded to fire. But before this little band of their fellow citizens, they faltered; and Judge Sedgwick, taking advantage of the favorable moment, rode up in front of the ranks, and

ordered them to lay down their arms. Many obeyed ; others fled ; a scattering fire occupied a few minutes, and two insurgents were wounded, but no one was killed. The other soldiers from the north and south came in to aid in securing the prisoners, 84 in number, including their leader. These were placed under guard in Stockbridge, and the troops meantime traversed the country. A second offer of pardon to all who would lay down their arms and take the oath of allegiance had been made, and the greater part of these prisoners soon availed themselves of it, and were released.

Still, the spirit of discontent had not been laid, and quiet was not at all restored. A force collected at Adams, and on being dispersed by the approach of Gen. Patterson, made an attempt to collect at Williamstown. Many had assembled at Washington, and Berkshire County was in a state of open, bitter, civil war, with no human protection in the field or at the fireside, save the cowardice of the foe. February 5, Gen. Patterson wrote to Gen. Lincoln at Petersham, for aid from the main army. Gen. Lincoln returned answer on the 6th, that the defeat of Shays on the Sabbath morning previous had left him at liberty to remove his army to Berkshire, which he would do without delay. "I shall," he writes, "commence my march to-morrow morning. No time will be lost in throwing a very sufficient force into your county. I shall have the pleasure to come with the troops. Take some strong post, until I can relieve you." To this he added the direction, in case a previous attack was deemed advisable, that the insurgents should be duly warned of their danger as open and avowed enemies of the government : a direction which there was opportunity to obey.

Before the army of Lincoln could reach the county, a party of insurgents, two hundred and fifty in number, collected at Lee, with the design of preventing the sitting of Courts. A company of three hundred militia marched to oppose them ; but having obtained a yarn-beam from the loom of Mrs. Perry, the rebels mounted it as a cannon, and thus procured more favorable terms, submitting only upon condition that the militia would use their influence to procure for them a trial within their own county, in case they were pursued by government.

When General Lincoln reached Pittsfield, which he was to make his head-quarters, the volunteer army disbanded, and returned to their dwellings; and the service of the detached militia closed on the 21st. The new troops enlisted did not all come in at once, a band was sent against the rebels in Williamstown, who took fourteen prisoners, and another against those in Dalton, who took six; and at one time Lincoln numbered, at head-quarters, only about thirty men. Providentially the rebels either did not know of his situation, or they were not prepared to take advantage of it.

But the circular of Eli Parsons, dated February 15, 1787, to which allusion has been made, was doubtless working like leaven in the restless mass, and a body of eighty or ninety, under Captain Perez Hamlin, were in the vicinity of New Lebanon, lurking and longing for mischief, "determined," as Parsons expressed it, "to carry their point, if fire, blood and carnage would effect it." Parsons himself was probably with the other division at Pownal. On the 26th, Captain Holcomb marched from Sheffield to Pittsfield at the head of a company of drafted men, with the best arms which could be obtained. This left the Southern part of the county more open, while at the same time it increased the danger of the insurgents at Pownal and Lebanon. About eight in the evening, Monday, 26th, Mrs. Tucker, mother of Mr. Stephen Tucker, who lived in the house now owned by Mr. Brinton, stepped out at her door, and heard a horseman who was passing say to his fellow traveler, "Now is our time to come in." Not suspecting who they were, she gave no alarm; but the sequel led her to suppose that they were insurgents.

The next morning, February 27, 1787, just as the day broke, a party of men were seen marching through Lara-waugh towards the village. Halting at the public house, then kept by Mrs. Bingham, parties were formed for pillage, and sent in either direction. Esquire Jahleel Woodbridge lived in the house now owned by D. D. Field, Esq. "My first recollection," says the Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, D. D., "is a belligerent one. The first thing I remember, is waking in the night, and seeing a number of brutal soldiers, with their green boughs," (the insignia of

rebellion,) "waving over the bed where my father and I lay. The dreadful gleam of their arms was reflected by the burning lights in the room. They demanded the surrender of my father, and I shrieked in an agony of terror; and my father passed me between the guns to the arms of my sister. This is the first memory this poor world has left engraven upon my heart." They plundered the house "most unsparingly."

When this party reached the house of Deacon Ingersoll, which was probably on their return from plundering the dwellings in the east part of the village, the good man was engaged in family devotion; the terror and confusion having driven him into, and not, as is too often the case, out of the Ark of safety. They entered the porch tumultuously, and were on the threshold, when Mrs. Ingersoll, bethinking herself of a very vulnerable point, handed to them a bottle of brandy; and they immediately, like lucky chickens in the farm-yard, ran off with their precious booty.

The party sent down South street, passed some of the houses, seemingly, in their eagerness to secure Mr. Ira Seymour, who resided in the building occupied by Mr. H. Goodrich. Mr. Seymour, however, escaped, but without a shoe to protect his feet from the snow.

Another party took the road over the Hill. The first house which they entered was that of Capt. Jones. They entered the sleeping apartment of all, asking of males and females if they had "any arms?" Two stopped for a few minutes to chat with the hired woman, and the first object which met the sight of the youngest daughter, who slept with her, was their "green boughs and gleaming arms."

From the list made out by Capt. Jones, of "military stores" taken away, they would seem to have been paid for their trouble; but the greatest treasure stolen was the belt of wampum given him by the Indians as a token of friendship, and which he could never recover. The prisoners taken were Capt. Jones, his two sons, (Josiah and William), an old negro who was laboring by the day, and a young man who had long desired to exchange his vocation as hired servant for that of a free ranger in Shays' army. He assured the men that he was of their own creed, and was happy to unite with them. He wore no

white paper in his hat, and only coveted the green bough. But his enlistment came too late; he was not believed, and was driven off with the others. At the corner, Josiah procured the release of old Backus, on account of his lameness, which would render him a burden, and when they had reached the village, he plead off his brother because of his youth.

The next house visited was that of Dr. Sergeant. There they broke into the chamber of Miss Mercy Scott, a noted seamstress, at the time in the family, and stole her silver shoe-buckles. As prisoners, they took Dr. Sergeant, Dr. Partridge, Hopkins and Catlin, (two medical students,) and Moses Lynch, (lately deceased,) and another hired man. Lynch was sent to Dr. West's to borrow a loaf of bread, for the enemy had no provisions for their captives, and as he took down his hat, one of the insurgents asked why he wore "that white paper?" "Why do you wear that green bough?" asked Mr. Lynch. With an oath, the enraged soldier thrust his bayonet at him; but, perhaps intentionally, it struck the wall by his side.

From Dr. Sergeant's, they went on to Gen. Ashley's, a guard being probably left with each company of prisoners. Gen. Ashley was taken; but Dr. West was unmolested. Some think they did not venture to intrude there; but they had not time to show their daring, being recalled to prepare for the march south.

When the party came to the little stream at the foot of the hill, the young Shayite, feeling delighted at finding himself in the army of "the people," or proud and happy to be "on the side of the hangman," while those who had restrained him were in captivity, commenced dancing and singing in merriest style. But his captors were still faithless, and they asked no songs of their victims. A thrust at his breast with the breech of a gun, silenced his mirth, and nearly drove the breath from his body. Nothing more was heard from him of the people's rights.

One band entered the store of Esquire Edwards, not for arms, but for spiritous liquors; and from the office of Judge Sedgwick they took Ephraim Williams, Esq., and Henry Hopkins prisoners, besides a quantity of linen from the drawers. But at the house of Judge Sedgwick, the one now occupied by Mr. Carter, they found one who was

prepared for them, — Elizabeth Freeman, — generally known as “Mum Bett.” She allowed them to search the drawers, knowing that the valuable papers were on the hill, and the silver all in her own chest, and to run their bayonets under the beds and into the dark corners to find Judge Sedgwick, for he, too, was absent. But she forbade all wanton destruction of property ; and arming herself with the kitchen shovel, no light weapon in those days, she escorted them to the cellar, jeering them at her pleasure, and assuring them that they dared not strike a woman. When one of them, wishing for a share of the “gentleman’s” cheer, broke off the neck of a demijohn, she offered to serve them like gentlemen, but declared that the next one who uselessly destroyed a vessel, should be instantly leveled by her shovel. They affected to scorn the bitter liquor, and left the remainder for “gentlemen who drank such stuff.”

On searching the chambers, and entering Betty’s, one pointed to her chest, and asked what that was. “Oh, you had better search that,” she replied, “an old nigger’s chest ! you are such gentlemen ; you had better search that,—the old nigger’s, as you call me ;” and thus she shamed them quite out of it, and saved the silver.

Judge Sedgwick had a fine gray horse which Betty was fond of riding. This the insurgents led out, and one of them mounted it, and attempted to ride. But the horse did not fancy its rider’s manners, and as he was passing the well, threw him off. It was probably at this juncture that Betty seized the halter, and leading the horse to the gate, gave a blow which she thought would drive her favorite beyond the reach of its pursuers. Thus far, says one of the family, Mum Bett was very fond of telling the story ; but the sequel she was not so ready to relate. The horse was recaptured, and never returned. After they had left the house one insurgent was obliged to return for a pair of boots, needed by one of the prisoners ; and with the boots he took one more of Betty’s jeers. “Who is it ?” asked Mrs. Sedgwick ; “who are these people, Betty ? you seem to know them.” “Why, it’s nobody but Jim ——, from ——,” (naming a degraded region,) “the fellow that came along peddling brooms,—miserable things,—they are all in the cellar now ; I never could use one of them.”

At the house of Asa Bement, Jr., they were very violent; and seeing a lad who lived in the family, on horse-back, with a white paper in his hat, they started in pursuit, and fired upon him. The boy left the horse and fled to the house of the elder Mr. Bement, a few rods distant. The insurgents were recalled for their march just before they reached that dwelling.

When the prisoners had been generally brought in, we learn from Mr. Tucker, an eye-witness, that they were paraded in front of what is now the new grave-yard. While there, Nathaniel Lynch, Asa Bement, Jr., George Kirkland, and Ned Monday, a colored man, came up. Lynch threatened to fire, and put his threat in execution,—but with regard to the exact circumstance there is a disagreement. Immediately they were pursued. Kirkland leaped the fence, and crossed the grave-yard to Mr. Tucker's. One of the daughters stepped to the door and warned him that there was a "Shays man" within. "Here," said "Little Pete," on overhearing the remark, uttering at the same time an imprecation, "I'll take care of him;" and rushing out, he seized the bridle of George's horse, and with a pistol pointed at his breast, ordered him to surrender. There was no resisting, and George was led back to the line. But "Pete S.," who was a German soldier, lately settled in West Stockbridge, mounted the beautiful steed, and started for Vermont or Canada. He was not seen here again for twenty years. Asa Bement and Lynch were pursued to the swamp near the residence of the former, and as might be expected, fired upon. But they were not seriously injured, and, it is believed, not wounded at all.

All being ready, the prisoners were marched to Barington; but several of Shays' party were left behind, too drunk to walk; and such had been the haste and confusion, that Mrs. Bingham had safely secreted Capt. Jones in a trap-door closet, behind the large, old fashioned chimney, without his being missed. It is believed, also, that Gen. Ashley had been sent home by Hamlin, who expressed regret at seeing a fellow officer of the Revolution in his hands as a prisoner.

The house of Mr. Benjamin Willard, in Goodrich street, had not been molested, and as the army came in sight,

Elias, his son, started with a neighbor, Mr. Waldo, to give the alarm in Barrington. Richard Edwards also left for Pittsfield, to notify Gen. Lincoln of the state of affairs. But, of course, no concerted plan of action could be entered into at once; and there seems no question that several voluntary expresses hastened to put the southern towns of the county upon their guard. A Mr Ruey who lived as neighbor to Mr. I. Seymour, and had been of the rebel party, but had been lately brought over to the side of order, harnessed his horses and started in their rear. Supposing him to be a true friend, they suffered him to pass. It is claimed for him, though not at all to his credit, that standing erect in his sleigh, he first wore up his whip, and then drew his ramrod, and used that instead. The same circumstance is related of two others; but is not allowed by their descendants; and though there is much reason to fear that those were gloomy days for beast as well as man, it was evidently an unusual act, and committed only once; and we are happy to say that no one now owns it as the act of his father. It shows the recklessness of cruelty which those scenes of civil strife had engendered. When a man of previous good standing in society, could rise up in a meeting of his fellow townsmen and declare—"I am ready to-day to fight my neighbor"—a home fact for us, and not a fancy,—the heart must have been steeled against kindness, and mercy, and even the barest humanity. And these facts must be taken into consideration before we can justly appreciate the horrors of that morning. Such was the known cowardice of the rebels that there was little danger to an army who should meet them in the open field. Some few in the front rank might fall; yet those behind were sure of a surrender or flight before it came their turn. But here was a band of defenceless men, in the hands of well armed and brutal soldiers who thirsted for their blood. Some families had parted with every adult male, and others had seen husbands, fathers, brothers, and sons driven off, perhaps to early and cruel slaughter; and those who were thus torn from their homes, knew not what other ruthless band, might, before evening, lay their dwellings in ashes, and subject their unprotected inmates to all that revenge could wish to perpetrate. "Fire, blood, and carnage,"

had been given out as the order of the day, until the end was gained; and we withhold just sympathy from our sires when we judge of the whole of February 27, 1787, by the hilarity of its close.

Other parties were soon fitted out to follow the captors. Mr. Abel Curtis had been of the malcontent opinion; but having turned his coat to its better side, with characteristic boldness and frankness, he had risen in church the Sabbath previous, and made an open recantation. This was unknown to his former friends, not distinguished for church going habits, and he, too, was permitted to pass the army without opposition. Mr. Whittlesey, also, and Major Elnathan Curtis, are mentioned as driving down at the utmost speed, in company with Lynch, and others; but at a later hour, and possibly as a portion of the regular militia. Stephen Tucker gave notice at Mr. Kirkland's of the fate of George, and John, his twin brother, afterwards President of Harvard, answered that if they had his brother, they should have him; and he joined the militia in the pursuit.

Captain Stoddard had started for the village with his two horses, and was passing the house of Dr. West, when the Dr. hailed him, and informed him that "the plain was full of Shayites." Captain Stoddard instantly turned his horses, and giving the alarm at every house as he passed, he rallied his militia band, and followed with all possible haste.

On reaching Barrington, the belligerents halted at the public house, then kept by Mr. Bement, brother of Asa Bement sen., of Stockbridge, and called first, of course, for spiritous liquors. Next, they wished to examine the jail, which was attached to the house, to see if the cells were of sufficient strength to hold their prisoners when they should be ready to store them there. All debtors in the cells also were set at liberty. As Mrs. Bement went with the officers and opened one cell after another, she sung, with deep feeling, but with apparent unconcern, the hymn containing these lines—

"Ye living men, come view the ground
Where you must shortly lie."

The people of Barrington, having taken the alarm, little could be done in the way of plunder there; and the

information had been carried to Sheffield, so that it would be unsafe marching thither. The government friends in that place met at the center; and "being joined by Captains Dwight and Ingersoll, and a small company from Barrington who had fled before the insurgents," they were ready, about 1 o'clock P. M., to march North against the foe, then reported to be coming down with their prisoners. But as it was soon believed that they were turning West, and endeavoring to escape from the county through Egremont, Colonel Ashley turned to the left, and taking a "back road," drove rapidly toward the residence of Francis Hare in that town. Scarcely had his company passed the brook North of the quarry, when it was found that the insurgents had also taken the back road, and hearing of the government forces, had, with unusual daring, turned, like them, at Archer Saxton's, and were now in the rear in pursuit of them. A halt was at once made, the sleighs were thrown out of the way, and an effort made to form. After some confusion, Captain Goodrich led the Sheffield company rapidly through a lot of girdled trees on the West side of the road, and Captain Ingersoll advanced with the Barrington company, through a wood on the East, some fifty or sixty rods, engaging in a scattering fire during the course. By this time they had come up with a considerable body of the enemy, and a well directed fire from eight or ten who were foremost, immediately put them to flight. The whole party fled in every direction. Other parties of government men soon came in, and among them one from Lenox under Captain William Walker, and prisoners were taken to the number of between fifty and sixty. More than thirty were wounded, one of whom was Hamlin, the Captain, and two were killed. A third, named Rathbun, died sometime afterward from his wounds.

In marching, the prisoners were of course placed in the center of the army. The meeting was sudden; the rebels were in the road, and the government party in the woods on each side. The firing was therefore not exactly in front, and was over before there was much opportunity to attack the insurgents in flank. There could have been little or no opportunity to form, and place the prisoners between the two armies, as has generally been represented. The fact, in the opinion of Mr. Jones, was simply

this: that being startled by the attack, the insurgents, in their terror, slunk behind the prisoners to load, and ran too soon to resume a front position.

Mr. Jones was placed, in the line, beside the grandson of the 2d Mrs. Josiah Jones, (immigrant,) named Solomon Gleazen, at the time village school-master. Seeing their position, Mr. Gleazen said to Mr. Jones — "Let's run." They instantly started, but as they leaped the fence, Mr. Gleazen received a ball in his chin, which passing into the throat, produced a death wound. He fell into the brush, and Mr. Jones, dropping beside him, took his head upon his knee, and supported it until life was extinct.

One other individual of the government party was killed, a Mr. Porter of Barrington, who was taken, a corpse, to his home before his wife had received any intimation of his fall. Dr. Burghardt of Richmond, who was in the company of Captain Walker, was wounded by a shot from a small party whom they encountered before they reached the field of action. These made up the amount of "killed and wounded:" and yet this was the most serious, the most decisive, and the concluding action of the "Shays War." One railroad accident would have been more fatal; and it is not strange that in general history it is so slightly passed over. Yet to Berkshire county, and particularly to Stockbridge, it was not exceeded, probably, by the Revolution itself, in the distress and guilt which it occasioned. The seaports may dread most a foreign invasion; but our villages, and our homes, have most to deprecate internal strife.

As soon as the prisoners were secured, those captives who belonged to the Stockbridge militia were ordered into the ranks, and placed, with their comrades, under an inferior officer, while the leaders retired, probably into the house of Mr. Hare, to hold a council of war. One of these militia was Moses Lynch, who speaks of engaging some one to hold his gun in due order, while he ran to see Gleazen. After the council, the whole company were marched from the field. The prisoners were taken first to Barrington; and the jail being filled, the surplus were carried, or marched, to Lenox. The Stockbridge prisoners, as they halted at the tavern, hurried home and collected such cast-off accoutrements as the insurgents had left,

and, with mock pomp, joined the escort. The line of sleighs was a mile in length, the rear not having turned the corner at Mr. Tucker's when the front was passing the then new church. It is said that they did not ascend the hill until they turned up the road entering above Mr. Hull's.

As the leaders must have expected to be put to death in case they were taken, efforts were made to raise a new army, but without success. The governors of the neighboring States consented to expose those who took shelter under their administration, and the Governor of New York accompanied an officer in his search for such as might be concealed about Lebanon, and by September quiet was so far restored that it was deemed safe to disband the army. Pardon was granted by General Lincoln and his two associates to two hundred and seventy persons; but with some, it was thought necessary to take a more stringent course. Fourteen were accordingly sentenced to death as guilty of treason, six of them being citizens of Berkshire, but none of Stockbridge. But out of these, eight were pardoned on the thirtieth of April, four being Berkshire men. The punishment of the others was twice postponed, and finally, those who had not escaped from prison, were pardoned, one excepted in the county, whose punishment was commuted to hard labor for seven years. A member of the Legislature who had been convicted of seditious words, was condemned to sit on the gallows with a rope about his neck, to pay a fine of £50, and to give bonds for good behavior and keeping the peace for five years.

But at first, the rebels were not to enjoy the elective franchise until the expiration of a specified time. This however, was found to work unfavorably. It was a mortification which soured the feelings; and besides this, in some towns there were not found a sufficient number of loyal citizens to transact civil business as it should be done. They were therefore allowed to be received at an earlier period, upon promise of good behavior. The Governor, Bowdoin, who had given displeasure by insisting upon a fixed salary as the only safe course, showed that he had not acted from a regard to his own interests, by retiring from office; and Hancock was chosen in his stead. A

committee was appointed to examine the legislative department for the purpose of detecting any still existing errors. Bly and Rose were executed at Lenox for burglary, December 6, 1787; and so far as human means could effect it, peace was restored to the community. But God alone could give that internal peace which had been so cruelly expelled from churches, neighborhoods and families, and in some cases His unseen power was till death persistently despised.

Reports have been circulated which place the character of Gleazen in an unfavorable light, yet without as much foundation as such reports should be able to show. A short time previous to the battle, Gleazen and Philo, the latter supposed to be a Jew, but who had lately come into the town, were examining fire-arms in the street, when Gleazen pointed a pistol at Philo, asking, "Will you dare me?" There was no evidence that he supposed the pistol to be loaded; but so it proved, and the ball entered the chin of Philo, and passed into his neck, killing him instantly. Gleazen was not popular either in his school, or among the people at large, and when, a few days afterward, he was himself killed by a precisely similar wound, many looked upon it as an evidence that the former shot had been premeditated.

He was brought to Stockbridge for interment, and the lady to whom he was soon to have been united in marriage, erected over his grave a monumental slab with the inscription, "Oh for a lodge in some vast wilderness, &c."



SECTION XXXIV.

COLONIES FROM STOCKBRIDGE.

WEST Stockbridge Village was commenced in 1766, by Colonel Elijah Williams of this town, who built the iron works which for a time gave their name to the place. The other parts of the town were settled by persons from various places, a Mr. Joseph Bryant from Canaan, Ct., having settled near the Northwest corner, a few months earlier in

the year than the removal of Colonel Williams thither. Until its incorporation, in 1774, the township was called Queensborough.

About three years previous to the settlement of this Western part of our own township, viz: in 1763, preparations were commenced for the founding of new colonies in the uncultivated wilderness to the North, owned by the Indians. The land now comprising the townships of Richmond and Lenox, was purchased of Chiefs Ephraim and Yokun, Stockbridge Indians, under the agency of Samuel Brown Jr., Esq. The price was £1700. A grant was obtained, such as was needed for the prosperity of the settlements, January, 1784, and April 17th they held a meeting at the house of John Chamberlain, in Richmond, for the transaction of business. Timothy Woodbridge of Stockbridge was chosen Moderator, and Samuel Brown Jr., Clerk. Esquire Brown was also on the committee to lay out and repair high-ways, and Colonel Elijah Williams was Treasurer. (This was two years previous to the erection of his iron works.) Money was voted, and a committee appointed to hire a preacher. May 25th, it was voted to build, by taxation, one church in Richmond, then called Mount Ephraim, and another in Lenox, or Yokuntown. On the building committee for Richmond, were Elijah Brown and John Chamberlain from Stockbridge, and on that of Lenox, Stephen Nash of this town, and Solomon Gleazen, whose wife, if not himself, removed to that town from Stockbridge. June 20th, the whole was incorporated, and named in honor of the Duke of Richmond, and, February 26, 1767, the Eastern part was set off under the name of Lenox, that being the family name of the Duke.

In Richmond, the names of Elijah and Isaac Brown, John Chamberlain and David Pixley, all from Stockbridge, are among the first settlers. David Pixley afterwards returned to Stockbridge. His wife was Miss Patterson of Richmond. Elijah Brown also returned to Stockbridge after the birth of his youngest child.

The first inhabitants of Lenox were Mr. Jonathan Hinsdale from Hartford, and his wife, Miss Barnard of Stockbridge, daughter of Mrs. Joseph Woodbridge. He built on the east side of the road, about fifty rods south of

Court House Hill, in 1750. Lydia, their daughter, who afterwards married Elihu Parsons of Stockbridge, was the first white child born in the town. A few months after the settlement of Mr. Hinsdale, Mr. Jacob Cooper of Stockbridge, who had married Jemima Woodbridge, half sister to Mrs. H., settled on the east street, north of the Lenox line. Previous to the alarm in 1755, a few other families had located themselves within the bounds of the town. During the flight, one man was killed, but Mr. Hinsdale succeeded in rescuing the woman who rode behind on a pillion. The church was organized in 1769, and Mr. Hinsdale was one of its nine male members. Probably other families removed from this place to Lenox and Richmond during the early periods of their history, who, acting no prominent part, have not left their names upon the records of those towns.

The Chenango Purchase was made about the close of the Revolutionary War, and many Stockbridge people engaged in the enterprise. Among the first were the five sons of Abraham Brown, and Elisha, Peter, Mary, Phœbe, and Mehitable Wilson, who, with their mothers, settled Newark; and they were followed by the Balls, Williamses, Slossons, Asa Bement, Hosford, the Carpenters, John Ruey, &c., &c., until Dr. West declared that if many more went, he would go too. The Purchase consisted of ten townships, and our citizens seem to have been very generally distributed among them.

About 1790, Eli and Joel Bristol, Solomon and Josiah Jones, and Stephen Willard, emigrated to the vicinity of Clinton, Mr. Willard and Mr. J. Jones as merchants, and the others as farmers. The merchants returned, Solomon Jones removed to Owego, but the Bristols remained with their families. They were joined by Dr. Sewall Hopkins, who returned, to marry, in January, 1797. When the college was founded Joel Bristol was chosen one of its trustees, and continued so until his death, and his eldest son was one of the first four graduates. Dr. Robinson was another, and married for his first wife another of the early immigrants from Stockbridge, the daughter of Rev. Samuel Kirkland.

Afterwards, Solomon Jones having removed to Owego, he was joined by his brothers, Stephen and William, and

by David Pixley 2d, and his son David. For a long time they had no pastor, and Mr. Jones and his wife—a Bristol—and Mrs. Pixley, stood almost alone in religious matters. Mr. Jones conducted worship upon the Sabbath for years. Mrs. J. Bristol, and the Joneses were all children of Capt. Josiah Jones ; Mrs. Asa Bement, and the mother of the Williamses were Browns ; and Dr. Hopkins was grandson to Mr. Sergeant the missionary, enough from the old hive to constitute this a bona fide Stockbridge emigration.

Again, when the Genesee Speculation commenced, the people of Stockbridge engaged in it, and in many cases with an unwise zeal. Among these, were the Boughtons, Enos, Jared and Hezekiah, who were the first settlers of Bloomfield, now Victor, 1791. They were followed by families named Brace, Hart and Smith. Ira Seymour went later. There was never another time when such fortunes were made by our citizens, and again lost in a few years, or even months. One man from this town, who felt that he could never spend the interest of his property, was in a short time destitute, and went with his brothers to Dismal Swamp, to raise, by the manufacture of shingles, the means of retrieving his error, and re-purchasing his farm. Not only those who removed to Genesee, but many who remained in the civilized world, lost their all ; and Stockbridge, perhaps, bore its full share in the energy and gain, and in the folly and loss, which marked the enterprise.

The next emigration of Stockbridge people in any considerable number took place in 1819. Col. Henry Brown, son of Samuel Brown, Esq., having purchased a township on the southern shore of Lake Erie, many families from this place removed thither with him. The town is called Brownhelm, after Colonel, afterwards Judge, Brown, its founder. Nineteen took a dismission from this church, and were formed into a new church in the wilderness, among whom were Mrs. Brown, and Deacon Stephen James. Other names of settlers, either at that time or soon after, were Pease, Barnum, Patten, Alverson, Fairchild, Curtis, Sage, Whittlesey, Shepherd, Peck, Baldwin, Cooley, &c.

In 1836, several heads of families became interested in

the settlement of Mercer Co., Illinois. Major Edward Burrall, Dr. Alfred Perry, and Mr. Loring Barnum went with their sons to Illinois. Dr. Perry left in 1837, returned in 1838, and during the summer of that year removed his family to what has since been called Perry, in honor of him. His death, a short time after, occasioned the return of his wife and younger children. Major Burrall left a son, but has never removed his family; and Mr. Barnum and one son were cut down just as the family at home were preparing to join them, and another son returned; so that, though the prospect was at one time fair of establishing a little community of Stockbridgeans in Illinois, with unusual advantages for a new settlement, the whole State contains now scarcely a representation of our citizens.

Since the golden mania has turned the faces of the whole world, civilized and savage, to California, a few have gone from Stockbridge, and succeeded well. Two have died. But the disease never fully took hold upon the people until the autumn of 1851. Yet early in January, 1852, nearly a score were ready to leave. Could we but fit out as many foreign missionaries, Stockbridge would indeed be rich. But "the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light." Thanks be to God that a wiser day is dawning upon his kingdom below.



SECTION XXXV.

WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

PASSING over the question of right or wrong in the matter, we will come at once to the fact, that between June 4th and June 18th, 1812, the President and Congress of the United States had gone through with the prescribed forms of national law, and declared this country to be in a state of war with Great Britain, her Colonies and dependencies. The Western States and Territories, the sailors upon the Lakes, and many large towns, received the news with joy; and New York, Baltimore, and the City of

Brotherly Love illuminated as a public expression of approbation, while Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Jersey legislatively dissented, and the people of New England were divided upon a question of life and death. Not only States and Towns, but neighborhoods, churches and families admitted the separating wall. It was not as in the days of the rebellion, when every man's hand was against his fellow ; but, by those who were for peace, the warriors were looked upon as ready for revenge, to bring upon us a foreign foe who might have been propitiated, while, on the other hand, the Democratic party were impatient of the tameness with which the federalists could see the rights and safety of the country trampled in the dust. Thus, both were prepared to lay the cause of every suffering at the door of the opposite party ; and those sufferings were by no means light. The price of goods was at once raised, and in Stockbridge \$15 for a barrel of flour, \$1 for the coarsest tea, and \$18 per pound for the best, was but in proportion to the prices of other articles. And this was but the smallest evil. To the minds of children, those of the opposite party were often monsters in human form.— This, we can well remember, was the feeling of the children of federalist parents in Stockbridge. Among the girls of the village school, that party predominated ; and as we marched and counter-marched during intermissions, singing our puerile defiance to the "Demo. Band," the subdued countenances of the two or three who could not join the sport, were enough to move the pity of a soldier's heart, and are always set down as among the moral evils of the war. We did not hate them ; we commiserated the misfortune of their birth ; but we felt it a duty to shake off the dust of our feet against all that abetted the unholy butchery of war ; and in our brave crusade, their children must not expect to escape.

During the autumn of 1814, however, an event occurred which shows that the village school was not an index for the town. The Association had appointed a day of fasting and prayer, to be observed in view of the distracted state of the country, and some ultra democrats, choosing to have all in their own way, opposed the submitting of the question to the council of Heaven. They seem not to have believed in the right of that foreign power to intervene,

and therefore they threatened violence to those who should call in such an arbiter. In some towns the appointment was read on the Sabbath, and the day was publicly observed. But in Stockbridge this was not deemed prudent, and those who felt disposed to observe it, gathered their families in some retired room of their own dwellings, and there poured out their fears and confidence into the ear of Him who saith, that those who trust in His mercy, shall be hid "in the secret of His pavilion." The memory of no early day is more deeply impressed than this. The retirement, the solemn charge of secrecy, and the intense excitement and fear produced, are among the pictures of childhood which can never be effaced.

Feb. 22, 1813, the birth of Washington was celebrated with unusual display in Stockbridge. The exercises were performed in the church, and the procession marched up from the village, the young men wearing the portrait of the patriot set in blue satin, as a badge. It was a gala day for little Stockbridge. But before the Sabbath, we had another procession somewhat unlike that of the Washingtonians. Twelve sleigh loads of sailors arrived from Boston, destined for the Lakes, which had then but a small fleet for their defense, and several of them were taken sick here, so that they were unable to leave until Tuesday. Generally, however, we saw little of the soldiers; but heavy teams were very often passing with stores for the army, and on the Sabbath were a great annoyance.

In the summer of 1814, the British made an attempt to cut off the New England States, by taking the northern posts and coming down the Hudson, while, at the same time, they were to attack New York, and hold the whole coast in a state of blockade. Thus, they hoped to bring this part of the country to sue for peace, and relieve themselves of all Yankee enemies. That was a gloomy year; for though the design was frustrated, Plattsburgh was taken and held for a short time, the coast was invaded, and many towns were subdued. We believed ourselves between two millstones; the sound of martial music, particularly at evening, was startling, and to childhood, (if their sufferings may be made matters of political history,) it was terrifying. Day after day might be seen groups of tiny politicians discussing the news of the day, and confiding to

each other their settled plans of action whenever the bayonet should be presented to their breasts.

On returning from school September 10, we had all sad news to hear, and to some it was heart-rending. The Militia had been called to march, the following day, for the defense of Boston, and from some families this would take two, and from others three, of their number. It was a dreadful night, and particularly so to those who were opposed to war. The conscription would not have been more odious. On the morning of the 11th, the Company collected on the village green for prayer, in which they were led by Rev. E. G. Swift, the colleague of Dr. West, and then marched off to meet their fate. We were, of course, expecting, each for his own, that that fate would be death. But we were graciously disappointed; for after six weeks of leisure, they returned safe, and it is needless to say, happy. The following names of persons belonging to this company have been obtained:

JOHN HUNT, Captain; Erastus Williams, Lieutenant; George Bacon, Ensign; William Williams, Orderly Sergeant; Benjamin Bacon, Philo Griswold and Leonard Olmstead, Sergeants; David B. Ingersoll, Heman Whittlesey, Daniel Barnes and Otis Dresser, Corporals; Horace Williams, Drummer; and Samuel Clarke, Fifer.

Privates, — George Warner, George James, Daniel Phelps, Samuel Bacon, Jay Curtis, Barney Curtis, Chas. Carter, Sands Niles, George Hill, Miles Carter, Uri Platt, Ezra Perry, Horace Abbey, — Phelps, Samuel Rathbun, Nathaniel Rathbun, Seymour Churchill, Charles Whittlesey, Solomon Whittlesey, Francis Olmstead, John Manley, Luman Andrews, John Skinkle, Luther Hamilton, Patrick Hamilton, Timothy Tolman, Silas Tolman, Phineas Pixley, Levi Belden, William Wilcox, Luther Landon, Isaiah Brown, Luman Wilcox, Lyman Wilcox, Simeon Bliss, Jonathan Howard, William Green, Isaac Williams, Henry J. Ostrom and Ebenezer Simonds. Stephen Carpenter being absent, escaped. Henry W. Dwight was aid to Major General Joseph Whiton.

The Treaty of Peace was signed at Ghent, Dec. 24th, of the same year; a happy prelude to the services of the 25th, in welcome and obedience to the Prince of Peace. On the 28th it was ratified by the Prince Regent. Feb.

11th the news reached New York, and on the 17th it was accepted by the President. Great joy was manifested upon the occasion. Stockbridge was beautifully illuminated, and among the sounds of merriment and melody, the old Indian Conch bore a ready part, winded from the heart by him who held it.

A number of the British prisoners had resided here for several months; but upon the return of Peace they were set at liberty, and we again sat under our own vines and fruit trees, "with none to molest us, or make us afraid."

And this was the last war in which Stockbridge people were ever personally engaged. May God grant that this assertion shall never need reversion, unless He, himself, call us to fight under his own banner of Truth and Universal Righteousness, the last great conflict with Error, Rapine and Death!



SECTION XXXVI.

DIVISIONS OF THE PARISH; PASTORS, EDIFICES, &c.

IN 1810, the infirmities of Dr. West induced him to ask for a colleague, and the Rev. Ephraim G. Swift was called to the office, and ordained Sept. 26. Dr. West preached the Ordination Sermon.

Mr. Swift was born in Williamstown, August 14, 1782, and graduated at that College in September, 1804. He studied Divinity with Dr. West. He was the son of Rev. Seth Swift of Williamstown, and nephew of Rev. Job Swift, "the Vermont Apostle." His mother was the grand-daughter of Rev. Jared Eliot, D. D., M. D. and F. R. S., of Killingworth, great-grand-daughter of the eminent minister, Joseph Eliot, and great-great-grand-daughter of John Eliot, the Apostle. She was also niece to Governor Griswold. The Swift family removed from Sandwich to Kent, but were, very probably, descended from Thomas Swift, of Dorchester, 1630.

Mr. Swift was dismissed, by his request, at the same time with Dr. West, August 27, 1818. Since that time he has labored at Humphreysville and Bethany eleven years, and

was settled at Killingworth December 11, 1832. In the Autumn of 1850, he retired on account of his health, and has not since ministered stately to any charge. His wife was Miss Sarah K. Beach, of New York. While in Stockbridge he was unmarried. As we have come down now to the present generation, characters must be omitted in future.

During the Winter following the dismissal of Dr. West and Mr. Swift, Mr. Hutchins Taylor and Mr. William Boardman were employed ; but no call was given until the Summer of 1819, when Rev. David D. Field, from Haddam, Ct., but free from engagements, was called, and accepted the invitation. He was installed August 25, and remained until February, 1837, when he returned to Haddam.

Mr. Field, now Dr. Field, is a descendant of the Connecticut branch of the old Dudley family, and also of the early Fields of Hartford and Hadley, Zachariah Field being one of the first settlers of Hartford, and the founder of the family. Dr. Field was born in East Guilford, Ct., now Madison, May 20, 1781, graduated at Yale College in 1802, settled at Haddam April 11, 1814, was dismissed April 11, 1818, went on a mission to the southern shore of Lake Ontario in June of the same year, settled in Stockbridge August 25, 1819, dismissed reluctantly by his people, February 12th, 1837, settled again in Haddam April 11, 1837, was dismissed April 11, 1844, and from that time until July 1, 1850, supplied the congregation in Higganum, the North Parish of Haddam. In the Spring of 1851, he returned to Stockbridge, and has again taken up his residence among us.

Dr. F. married Miss Submit Dickinson, of Somers, October 31, 1803, and has had ten children. Two among them, D. D. Field, Esq., of New York, and Stephen W. Field, Esq., of California, have been appointed, within a few years, to revise the laws of their respective States.—Miss Emilia Field was, for several years, Missionary in Asia, as will be particularly noticed in its place, and “H. M. F.” and “M. E. F.,” the youngest two of the family, are well known to the reading world. Dr. Field has distinguished himself by his Historical Researches and Publications, no less than as a divine.

Near the close of 1823, a proposal was made for the erection of a new house of worship, on some site less bleak and more convenient than the former. In this all were united; but after much deliberation and discussion with regard to the exact locality, the parish divided, and built two houses instead of one. The old Society built upon the green at the west end of the village, within a few rods of the spot on which the mission church stood. This house is of brick, seventy feet by fifty, and was dedicated January 20, 1825. At first it was red, but it has since been painted white. In 1844, the Ladies formed a Sewing Society, for the purpose of making improvements in the church, and continued their labors for several years.—They first procured blinds, and afterwards carpets and a new set of chairs, lowered the galleries, shut the pulpit window, newly painted the interior, and by the addition of some contributions, procured a sofa for the pulpit. The pulpit was newly dressed in 1837, and some changes have since been made. A female member of the church presented the beautiful communion table now in use; the book-case for the Sabbath School, which took the place of a much smaller one, in 1848, was obtained by subscriptions; and other furniture has been obtained in a similar manner, as it was called for.

Immediately after the retirement of Dr. Field, Rev. Tertius S. Clarke from Haddam supplied the pulpit, and was installed pastor, June 15, 1837. He continued with us until May 5, 1850, when he took leave of the people: and he was settled in Penn Yan, N. Y., during the same season; the date he has not given. With respect to his ancestry, birth, &c., Mr. Clarke states, that he was “born in Westhampton, Mass., December 17, 1799, that he was graduated at Yale, September, 1824, studied Theology at Auburn, and supposes that he can trace his ancestry as far back as to the May Flower.” He married Miss Almira A. Marshall of Granville, Mass., a native of Winchester, Conn. They have four children, and have buried one. Mr. Clarke’s first parish was Bloody Brook, Mass., and his second, Haddam, Conn.

On the dismissal of Mr. Clarke, several candidates either offered themselves, or were offered by their friends; but the society seemed to have acted upon the Indian’s

rule with his son—"The more you say bow and arrow, the more I'll not make it," — for they selected one of whose family and history they had no information, and who must turn from other eligible situations to accept a call from us. This stranger was Rev. Alfred H. Dashiell Jr., whose father and grandfather were both clergymen. He was born near Baltimore, January 9, 1824, graduated at Delaware College in 1843, and at the Theological Seminary in New York city, 1847. He had previously been sent to labor in destitute places while unable to prosecute his studies; and after graduating at New York was sent as a Home Missionary to Missouri.

Mr. Dashiell was descended from a persecuted Huguenot, who took refuge in England, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and there married into one of the noble families, which, however, he prefers simply to call puritan. His wife, no whit beneath him in the rank or godliness of her ancestry, was Miss Mary Mason of New York; and we esteem it no small favor of Providence, that He has furnished us so many pastors upon whose heads have rested the accumulated blessings of a holy parentage.

Having accepted the call of the people after a period of probation, Mr. Dashiell was installed December 11, 1850. Sermon by Mr. Smith of Lee; charge to the people by Mr. Turner of Barrington; charge to the pastor by Dr. A. Peters of Williamstown; and right hand of fellowship by Mr. Lasell of West Stockbridge.

Having thus brought the Ecclesiastical History of the first Church down to the present time, we will next trace that of the North, or Curtisville Church. And here it should be premised, that besides being a small society, Curtisville is chiefly a manufacturing district, and constantly subject to fluctuations. Since 1825, the owners of the principal establishment have been "absentees;" and we know the evils of absenteeism too well to expect under it that system and thrift which we see elsewhere. The few inhabitants who have continued in the parish from year to year have found that with a new capitalist, new operatives, or a new pastor almost annually, there must be more laying of foundations, than crowning with top-stones.

Those who withdrew from the old society at first had constituted about one-fourth of that body. The church

was organized December 22, 1824, and consisted of sixty-three members. They erected a brick edifice sixty-one by forty, a few rods North of the Larawaugh school house, which was dedicated January 10, 1827, and Rev. Nathan Shaw from West Stockbridge was installed pastor on the same day. Previous to this time they had worshiped in the school house, and hired preachers for limited periods. Among them were Rev. Alfred Chester, Rev. Samuel Shepherd, &c.

Mr. Shaw continued to preach until March 9, 1831, when he was dismissed, and the church was for some years without a settled pastor. During the Summer of 1831, Rev. — Blakesley labored for a time. Afterward, Mr. Hudson was there two years and a half, leaving in the Spring of 1837. He was followed during the Summer by Rev. Joseph Hurlburt, who was installed Nov. 22, 1838, and dismissed June 16, 1840. The 17th of the same month, Rev. J. T. Headley, well known by his various publications, was ordained pastor, having supplied during the previous 6 months. He was dismissed in the Spring of 1842, and Mr. Turner of Barrington, now a Home Missionary, and Mr. Hurlburt, supplied during the Summer and Fall. Mr. Thayer spent the next winter in the field, and June 26, 1844, Rev. Ralph Smith was installed. October 10, 1845, he was dismissed, and retired for a time from the ministry; but was afterwards settled in Lee. Mr. Otis Lombard followed Mr. Smith, but only as a supply, and left April 1, 1846. Others supplied until the introduction of Mr. L. P. Giddings, who was installed December 2, 1846, and dismissed April 1, 1849. The present pastor, Rev. Winthrop H. Phelps commenced his ministry among them during the Summer of 1849, and was installed November 6th of that year. He was born at Albany in March, 1818, graduated in 1842, and completed his course at the Theological Seminary in New York, in 1845. His puritan ancestor was William Phelps, who came to this country in 1630.

During the ministry of Mr. Hudson, the Society removed their house of worship to Curtisville, where it was newly dedicated. The ladies, not only the old inhabitants, but others who have come in to engage in the manufactories, have plied their needles with a very laudable skill and perseverance in behalf of the temple, and have done

much to repair and furnish it. "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem ; they shall prosper that love thee."

Several years previous to the dismissal of Dr. Field, viz : February, 1834, an Episcopal Society had been formed, service being held in what is now called the Lecture Room, and Rev. Samuel P. Parker had officiated, commencing July 13, of the above mentioned year. Rev. Calvin Wolcott took the place of Mr. Parker, August 21, 1836, and at the same time taught the Academy. In August, 1844, their church edifice was dedicated, and Mr. Parker, having again officiated since July, 1837, was at the same time duly set over the church and parish. In July, 1846, he took a dismissal, and was succeeded in September by Rev. Justin Field. In January, 1849, Mr. Field left, and since June of that year, Rev. Thomas R. Pyncheon has filled the post.

Aided by friends in Stockbridge, the Society raised \$1300 for the erection of the church, and \$1500 were obtained elsewhere. The Bible and Prayer Book were the gift of Professor Reid of Union College, and the Communion Plate, of Parker L. Hall Esq. of Pittsfield. A Sewing Society connected with the parish, has also been very efficient in supporting its worship.

A Methodist Church has been in existence for a number of years, but that denomination has never erected a house of worship. In the Spring of 1850 a minister was stationed here,—Mr. Horton—a very excellent man ; but he died in the course of the Summer, and Rev. R. W. Keeler has succeeded to the office. This Society, like the Episcopal, includes all parts of the town.

The late Rev. Dr. Charles Follen conducted Unitarian service in a private house on Sabbath afternoons during the Summer of 1836. A Universalist clergyman has preached at times with some regularity in Curtisville, and the Irish Papists often collect in great numbers for worship in the village ; but the mass of the native population have always united with one of the three denominations, Congregational, Episcopal or Methodist.

In the Autumn of 1853, an Independent Church was formed in Glendale, under the auspices of Rev. Horatio Foot, an evangelist ; but it became extinct in a very short time. Baptist service has occasionally been held in that

part of the town, and a Sabbath School has been sustained there; but no house of worship has been erected, or pastor stately employed, for any length of time.

At first, as has been observed, the support of the Gospel in Stockbridge was drawn chiefly from Great Britain. The Society which supplied the funds was formed at the suggestion of Apostle Eliot, for the support, at first, of his Missions. Collections were taken up for the establishment of a fund,—a large sum, let us not forget, being contributed in Ireland, — and Edward Winslow obtained a Charter. The officers received no salaries; their meetings were held in London, at Cooper's Hall, and the books were kept open for inspection. After the Restoration, 1664, Sir Robert Boyle, having saved the old Charter from seizure by the crown, and procured a new one, was chosen President. Before the establishment of the mission here, a great apathy had existed upon the subject, and a large amount was expended in the support of Episcopal, in opposition to Puritan churches. But the success here soon led to other missions, to which more or less was devoted. A collection was taken up in Boston annually for the objects of the Society, which in 1718 amounted to nearly £1,000. Near the close of Mr. Sergeant's life, England became remiss, it would seem, and Scotland became more interested. The distinguished Mr. Erskine of Scotland used his influence in behalf of President Edwards; and Dr. West, until 1775, received much of his support from that country. After that time, he received £80, and his wood, and when dollars and cents became our currency, \$400 was his salary, raised by taxation. The salary of Mr. Swift was \$400.

Dr. Field received \$700, and Mr. Clarke \$700. Mr. Dashiell has the same. Since the system of taxation was abolished, the salary has been raised by subscription until the last nine years. For that time it has been raised by the sale of slips and pews annually.

The house was built by subscription, and the pews and slips were at first sold. But the owners have generally relinquished their claims without compensation. A few have sold to the Society, and a few still hold their seats as real estate.

In the winter of 1831, the house of Dr. Field was con-

sumed by fire, and the people subscribed \$1400 for the erection of a new one. In olden time a pastor was, as it were, planted in his parish, and there yielded fruit in old age. Then he owned a house, and, in the country, a farm. But in this age of the world, ministers must keep upon the march as well as arts, intellect, &c., and when Mr. Clarke came among us, it was felt that the pastor's residence should be the property of the parish, and stand ready for his successor. Accordingly a parsonage was built in 1838-9; but not being fully paid for, and the business being involved in difficulties not easily raveled, it was thought best, in 1850, to sell. Curtisville also owned a parsonage at one time; but sold it some years since.

Finding great difficulty in the administration of discipline without a Constitution, the church in 1818 instructed Mr. Swift to draw up one for their adoption. This he did, and it was presented, signed by the members convened for that purpose, and ordered to be published, at a church meeting, June 25, 1818. Mr. Elijah Brown and Mr. Josiah Jones were appointed a committee to superintend the publication, September 2. Such was the novelty of the measure at the time, that the neighboring churches became alarmed, and believed that Stockbridge was forming a new organization, and withdrawing itself from their fellowship. The original document, as it was presented, is at hand, with the signatures of the church members — in manuscript — and also printed copies. There is little alteration in the matter, though in the arrangement of disciplinable offences there is quite a change. These were published before the close of 1818; 300 copies without the explanations, for the church, and one hundred with explanations, for distribution among other churches in the county, to quiet any still existing fears. A second edition was published in 1827, to which the names of the members were appended; and, the rules of the church having been revised, a new issue is soon to be made in which regard is paid to the love of ancestry and research now prevalent in the community. It is also to be accompanied by a Historical Preface.

SECTION XXXVII.

DEACONS OF THE CHURCHES.

The earliest deacons of this church were Timothy Woodbridge and Peter Pauquaunaupet, who have been mentioned. Then succeeded in order, Samuel Brown, Elnathan Curtis, Stephen Nash, Elisha Bradley, Timothy Edwards, Erastus Sergeant, Ebenezer Plumb, Ebenezer Cook, Stephen James, Jonathan Ingersoll, John Whiton, Alfred Perry, Josiah Jones, Lystra Taylor, Sewall Sergeant, John Hufnagle, William Whitney, and Joseph I. Crosby.

Deacon Nash was a peculiarly venerable man. A little child was asked in school "Who was the first man?" and promptly and honestly answered, "Deacon Nash."

Deacon Jonathan Ingersoll, elected to the office in 1814, was for eleven months in the Revolutionary Army. He was then a minor. December 25, 1780, he married Miss Eunice Pixley of Stockbridge, and remained here until his death, December 21, 1840. He was eminently a man of peace, and warm hearted charity. It was his constant practice, previous to a communion season, to take the names of the church members to some place of retirement, and pray for each individually. In the later part of his life, one petition in his public prayers was as constant as it was appropriate to the wants of the age, viz: that we might "discern things spiritual, spiritually."

Deacon Josiah Jones was the son of Captain J. Jones of Stockbridge, and born September 9, 1769. He married Miss Fidelia West, January 6, 1797, was chosen deacon in 1820, and died February 10, 1834. It was Deacon Jones and Mr. Timothy Turner of Barrington, who devised and procured the institution of the Conferences of churches, which received so many smiles of Heaven between the years of 1826, and 1832. Always enjoying religious meetings, he was particularly interested in these;

but when they came to be looked upon as a part of revival machinery, instead of a mere looking for the blessing, and an opening of the hand to receive it, he was as ready to see them discontinued as he had been to establish them. It is with pleasure that we hail a revival of those holy convocations. But may past experience make us all wary. Let us not come down from God, to trust in man.

Dr. Alfred Perry was also chosen deacon in 1820. He was born in Newington, Ct., where his father was then pastor, but in 1784 removed to Richmond in this county, with his parents. In 1803 he was graduated at Williams College. For several years he was in feeble health, but taught for a time in Westfield Academy, and for a few years in South Carolina, whither he had gone for his health. He completed his medical studies at the Philadelphia Institution, then under the care of Dr. Rush, and commenced practice in Williamstown. November 1, 1814, he was married to Miss Lucy Benjamin of that town, and in November 1815, he removed to Stockbridge. In 1837 he went to Illinois, and having fixed upon a location, removed his family in June, 1838; but died September 10th of the same year.

As a christian, and a deacon in the church, Dr. Perry was peculiarly active; and as a physician fervently beloved by his patients, and trusted with a fearlessness which was sometimes denominated idolatry. He was a man of great patience and firmness, and differed from many of his day in both his religious and his medical views; but this, even to many who differed from him, was but the means of raising their esteem for his forgiving spirit. It was very rare that he spoke of the practice of other physicians, unless it met his own views; and in religious matters, though he steadfastly adhered to what he believed to be right, still he maintained an unusual degree of quietness and self-possession, and when convinced of an error, no man was more prompt to acknowledge it and seek forgiveness.

In 1838, Major Sewall Sergeant, and in 1840, Mr. John Hufnagle, were chosen to the office. In 1847 Mr. Hufnagle resigned, and the same year Mr. Joseph I. Crosby and Mr. William Whitney were chosen.

When the North church was set off, Mr. Daniel Fairchild and Mr. David Curtis were chosen deacons. Dea-

con Fairchild died in 1830, and Deacon Curtis removed soon afterward. J. W. Marsh and Daniel Fairchild Jr., succeeded. Deacon Marsh has since removed, and Timothy Lombard has been chosen to his place. Samuel Ingersoll also held the office for a time.



SECTION XXXVIII.

RELIGION.—RADICAL AND PRODUCTIVE.

Besides the revivals of religion in this church in early times, to which allusion has been made, there were others in 1773, 1782, 1790, '91 and 92, and in 1799, by which 16, 24, 46, and 20 were gathered into the church. For two or three years previous to January 1813, there was unusual seriousness, and on the first Sabbath of the year, thirteen united with the church. This was the commencement of a powerful work, during which more than one hundred were hopefully converted. Sixty-seven made a profession in June, and others afterwards. This, to the present day, is denominated THE revival, and many incidents are remembered of unusual interest. One family, living miles from the pastor's, was visited before breakfast one morning by the junior pastor, and a member of it states that this interest for their salvation broke down the opposition of heart which had held her waking, and led her, as she trusts, to lay her soul at the feet of Jesus. A convert who stood at the head of a family complained that he had not the power to establish family prayer. He was advised to assemble his family, read a chapter in the Bible, and say, "God be merciful to me a sinner." This he thought he might go through, but no more. When his pastor afterwards called to learn his success, he said that he had followed the directions, and got on very well until it came to the time to stop; but *that* it seemed as if he could never do. He found no trouble in praying now.

The case of Dr. Jones has been published more than once. His wife and Mrs. John S. Hopkins had been for

some time united in prayer for the conversion of their husbands. The opposition of Dr. Jones had been roused by a sermon upon moral inability; and rising the next morning in the same state of mind, he passed into another room to which his wife soon followed him, committing her way, and that of her partner, to him who had promised to direct. What was her surprise on entering, to find him on his knees, giving thanks for redeeming grace. As soon as she could leave, she started to tell her friend; but she met her on the way, coming to bring similar tidings. It is supposed that both were converted at the same moment.

Meetings held by the pastor for the particular instruction of children during this revival were very solemn; and no doubt many seeds sown at that time in the fresh soil, were watered by unseen drops from time to time, until another shower of grace brought them to light, and caused them to put forth foliage. It is not the one moment of conversion alone, that is a moment of growth in the garden of God. Without that moment, all is in vain; but may not much pride and distrust be mixed with the sadness of christians when they do not see that fruit of their labors? It is always working time in the garden, and always growing time; but not always springing time. If the laborers are awake, wise, and busy, looking up, all will prosper; but if otherwise, then is the time to be sad.

The next revival was in 1821, when 94 were added to the church. It was then, first, that inquiry meetings were held here. Again in 1827, a refreshing was experienced. It was early in that winter that the Conferences of the Churches commenced. Fifty-five united with the church. Other revivals were enjoyed in 1831, 1838, 1842, and 1849.

And now that we have marked the ingathering of laborers, we will look at the various departments of christian labor, and see what has been produced. "By their fruits ye shall know them." And first:—

THE RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF THE YOUNG.

Besides the "Young Men's," and "Young Women's Meetings," spoken of in the Biographical notice of Dr. West, the Assembly's Catechism was from the earliest times taught in the family and in school. But as this was

too often done as a mere form, unaccompanied by explanations, the pupils received little knowledge unless induced to commit it to memory. But the form, even when the teacher must turn prompter after the first eight or ten answers, was not without its use in keeping up in the mind of the child an impression that the Lord was *the* God; though the penance of receiving instruction of which he understood nothing, after the usual hour for school to close, when his mind was occupied with his state of fasting, and with the Saturday afternoon sports, which he felt were every moment retrenched, had not a tendency to give those whose religious instruction was limited to the school, a very deep or lively impression of the pleasure and duty of giving to that God the first and the best. The comparatively few who could repeat the whole had a fund for other years; yet even to them there was this drawback, that what is committed to memory without the understanding, seems seldom so vividly significant in after life, the mind having become habituated to the words, disconnected from the ideas.

But in Stockbridge, all these evils were remedied, so far as it could be done after their occurrence, by a course of Catechetical Lectures delivered by Mr. Field previous to the removal of the congregation from the old church. Then the lock of the Catechism sprang open, and the light that streamed from its pages was seen and felt to be but a reflection from the Oracles of God. And why might not our pastors, without increasing their labors, deliver, at least once during each settlement, a similar course on Sabbath mornings, the answers commented upon being the lesson for the day in the Sunday School? Would it not have the effect to make their hearers more sound in the faith, without any loss of spirituality?

It is believed to have been during the summer of 1813, that three females gathered a few children in a chamber of the house of Dr. Jones, the one now occupied by Mr. Sheldon, and taught them on Sabbath afternoon. The next summer a Sabbath School was opened in the west room of the "old Academy." The following summer it was so increased that it was taught in the upper room, still as a third exercise. Other parts of the town united at the church, and employed the intermission in instruc-

tion, and about 1817, the village school was brought under the same regulations.

The Library was purchased soon after the removal to the present house of worship. It now consists of nearly six hundred volumes. Curtisville and Glendale have also Sabbath School Libraries, as has the Episcopal Church.

About the year 1824-5, Mr. Field commenced the instruction of a Bible Class. For a time the pupils were questioned upon the lesson, and then the pastor commented upon the whole, closing, as he had commenced, with prayer. After some years, the exercise of recitation was somewhat shortened, and a question, previously propounded, was discussed. This was the course pursued during the Summer of 1828, but towards the close of that season, (we believe,) the pupils were requested to write upon the questions, and read their own essays. This was of great benefit. When in June 1829, a missionary to Asia was examined for ordination in this vicinity, and some of the greatest divines in the country were called upon the council, it was observed that not one question upon Theology was propounded to the candidate, which had not become, in Mr. Field's Bible Class, as familiar as the "Cradle Hymn." This class, we are ashamed to say, was discontinued for want of pupils before the dismissal of Dr. Field. Another was commenced during the Summer of 1837, and to place it on a permanent footing, about twenty pupils were pledged to attend. The lesson was a question of Theology, which the pupils were to prove fully from Scripture, the proofs being written in a book kept for the purpose, and read at the meetings. Being absent from Stockbridge after August, the writer of this reminiscence is unable to give its farther progress, save that it was not in existence the following winter.

Mr. Dashiell has now a Bible Class in which he is expounding the Assembly's Catechism. May commandment be given concerning it, "destroy it not, for a blessing is in it."

At times a Bible Class has also been taught in Curtisville, and also by Mr. Parker, the Episcopal clergyman.

The Sabbath School Concert has been observed for many years, but not regularly, or with due spirit. A Maternal Association was established about 1831 or '32; but

the same may be said of it as has been said of the Sabbath School Concert; and for several years past it has been entirely discontinued.

2D. PROMOTION OF CHRISTIAN MORALS.

During the war of 1812, the people were much annoyed by the passing of teams on the Sabbath, going to and from the army. The road through here was at the time a thoroughfare. On this account a "Moral Society" was formed, which had for its object the suppression of Intemperance, Sabbath-breaking, and Profanity. Members took their turns in spending the Sabbath at the Hotel to stop travelers, hand-bill tracts were circulated, and efforts were made to purify the sacred inclosure of the church from these sins. But the public mind was not ripe for these doctrines, and especially when they were carried out; and, brow-beaten and discouraged, the Society became extinct. Since then, no especial efforts have been made in behalf of the 3d or the 4th commandment. They are as well observed as in other New England villages, but not as well as they should be, certainly. Sadly would our ancestors have sighed, had they foreseen that at the present enlightened age, professors of religion could be found who not only were tardy in commencing the Sabbath, but acted upon the principle that its sacredness began to abate as its shadows lengthened.

The American Temperance Society was formed in Boston, Feb. 13, 1826, and met first, as a Society, on the 12th of March the same year. An auxiliary Society was formed in Stockbridge through the energetic efforts of Dr. Perry, as early as the Summer of 1827, and we believe during the Summer of 1826. The cause received a new impulse some years afterward, when the plan of total abstinence was adopted. From 1840 to 1843, it was unusually flourishing; and within the last two years has again excited interest. During the autumn of 1851, a spirited County Meeting was held in the South Church, the house being beautifully and appropriately decorated by the young ladies, assisted, of course, by the gentlemen. In these decorations our younger sister, Maine, received her just meed of praise. We kept her long under our fostering

care, as if she were incapable of managing her own concerns; but since she has slipped the leading strings of Massachusetts, she has "grown wiser than her teachers." Her plan of burying the tyrant, reminds one of the stanza in a parody often sung during the "Harrison Campaign"—

"Who dug his grave?
I, says sturdy Maine, and I'll do it again!
I dug his grave."

3D. RELIGIOUS CHARITIES.

The Berkshire and Columbia Missionary Society was formed February 21, 1798, and up to 1829, its funds amounted to \$13,776,03. Of this sum Stockbridge contributed \$758,60, and Lee \$708,73. No other town had gone over \$339,16, the sum contributed by Richmond. The object of the Society was what is now called Home Missions. Its anniversary was the third Tuesday in September.

The Berkshire Bible Society was organized June 17, 1817. In 1829, Stockbridge collected for this object \$90,64. Lenox, Lee and Pittsfield exceeded us. Lenox gave \$100, Lee \$109,31, and Pittsfield \$205,66.

July 6, 1818, the County Education Society was formed. Up to 1829, Stockbridge had given \$159,98, Pittsfield \$585,40, Lee \$356,39. No other town had reached \$100.

June 15, 1825, the Berkshire Missionary Society was formed. In 1829, Stockbridge gave \$152,87 to this object, but was exceeded by Williamstown, Pittsfield, Lenox and Lee. "Let us consider one another, to provoke unto love and good works."*

A Cent Society was formed in Stockbridge when that plan of charity was in operation, which continued for several years.

* We find, by examining the report of charities laid before the Berkshire Association, that, exclusive of bequests, and of the sums raised by Sewing Societies, the Congregational Churches in Stockbridge gave in 1851, \$632; Lee \$755,86; Hinsdale \$811,71; and Pittsfield \$1755,30. Hinsdale Sewing Society raised \$6,10; and Pittsfield \$25,70. No other towns raised, with the above mentioned exclusions, over \$575,61, the donation of Lenox.

As early as 1817 or 18, the ladies of the village and its vicinity formed a Sewing Society. This was when such organizations were almost unknown; for a writer for the *Christian Intelligencer*, (which was not commenced until May, 1817,) and we think during its 2d year, gives an account of such a Society in Pittsfield, where he had just been visiting, recommending it to the consideration of ladies throughout the country. Previous to September 20, 1820, this Society had adopted the rule of making a small bridal present to each member at her marriage. One of the early objects to which its funds were appropriated, was the education cause. But after the establishment of the Academy here, several circumstances transpired to lessen the regard of the people for the operations of the Education Society, and the Sewing Society became extinct for a season, after the Summer of 1823. But in the autumn of 1824 it was in active operation; and during the Greek struggle, a box of clothing was sent to the sufferers. After the establishment of the Smyrna Mission by Mr. and Mrs. Brewer, the funds of this Society were appropriated to the support of its School. In 1838, the Mission was broken up; and for a time after that date, the ladies supported a Colporteur in France. This was then the only effort of the kind made in this country. In 1841, this Society also became extinct; but in the Spring of 1843, a new one was formed for the repairing and beautifying of the church edifice, which continued until the Summer of 1848. In the autumn of 1850, a new organization was effected, without any fixed object. Several causes have already been aided.

Besides the objects above named, sums have at times been appropriated to others; but these are the principal. For several years the ladies of the East part of the town were united with those of the village in the support of the Greek, or as it was sometimes called, the Stockbridge School in Smyrna. Afterwards they had an organization of their own, and have been engaged in filling boxes for different Missionary stations. Besides these, other boxes have been often filled, averaging for the last seven or eight years, about one annually. Several Juvenile Societies have also existed for a time. During the continuance of the Foreign Mission School, loads of clothing and provis-

ion were sent from this place ; aid was furnished to the Madeira Isles in their distress, and also to Ireland. When Kossuth landed upon our shores, Stockbridge was the first town in the State to lend him a helping hand. Upon a notice of ten days, \$150 were raised by a Fair, though the evening was unusually tempestuous, and in the course of the week the sum was increased by donations to \$200. A description of this Fair, together with the letter of Kossuth to the ladies of Stockbridge, we give in the Appendix, (I.)

At one time, some thirty years ago, a Society existed here auxiliary to the Society for Meliorating the condition of the Jews. But it declined with the parent Society, and has not, with that, been revived. That object, however, has been admitted as one to claim attention in future ; collections to be taken in November.

About 1840, the South Congregational Society adopted a system of Charities which is still observed. Seven objects were selected as those which should receive the patronage of the people, and be admitted into the pulpit annually. To each of these was assigned its period ; a Treasurer and Secretary are appointed for each at the annual meeting, who, in their turn, appoint their Collectors, and receive and transmit the funds. The objects these aided are, for January and February, the Seaman's Friend Society ; Receipt in 1852, \$38,00. March and April, Theological Education at the West ; Receipt in 1851, \$30,00.* May and June, A. B. C. F. Missions ; Receipt in 1851 \$54,00. July, Colonization Society ; Receipt in 1851, \$21,00. August and September, Tract Society, \$53,50. October and November, Home Missions ; Receipt in 1851, \$63,00. November, Jews' Society ; Receipt in 1852, \$12,00. December, Bible Society ; Receipt in 1852, \$56,00.

During the Summer of 1851, the American and Foreign Christian Union was allowed to present its claims, and \$69 were collected. \$85 were also given to Mr. Byington, then on a visit to his old home, besides \$25 in goods. Thus, though we profess not to have engaged in the cause

*This object was omitted in 1852, and its payments may not be resumed.

of charity with that fervent gratitude which it demands, and while the Scripture proportions between "outward adorning," and "good works" is not always observed, we may still say with the inspired penman, "Thanks be unto God for this unspeakable gift."

MISSIONARIES.

Stockbridge has not only given for the support of Missions, but the Concert of Prayer was early established, and is well sustained, and of her own sons and daughters she has contributed laborers for the work. Rev. Stephen Peet, an early Home Missionary, was from Stockbridge, and teachers in the far West and South claim this as their home. But passing over the early missions which have been mentioned in the Indian History, and the benevolent labors among those of our own Anglo Saxon race, we will only notice those who have entered the foreign field.

Rev. CYRUS BYINGTON, son of Captain Asahel and Mrs. Lucy Byington, was born March 11, 1793, in a house built by Judge Sedgwick, not far from the river, and west of his own residence. This house was afterward moved to the south end of the bridge, on the Barrington road, but is not now standing. From this house Mr. Byington was soon removed to what was called "the Peck house," which stood on the site afterwards occupied by Mr. F. Dresser; now by Mr. Pierce. When about nine years old, he again moved with his parents into the house in Goodrich Street, where they died. But here he did not long remain, being placed in the family of J. Woodbridge, Esq., in the village, where he continued until he was fitted for the practice of Law. During the revival of 1813, he was converted; and he points out the present dwelling of Mr. Dashiell as the place of his second birth. After engaging for a time in the practice of Law, he decided to study Divinity, and entered the Theological Seminary at Andover. While there, Missionaries came from Georgia, and one of the Professors hinted the subject of Missions to Mr. Byington. The seed of thought took root, for the plowshare of the Almighty had prepared the soil; and when one of the Missionaries visited him with the Professor, and talked to him of Indian Missions, "my heart" he says, "caught fire, and I said, 'Here am I, send me.'" "I thought so," said the

Professor, who had observed that his mind was ill at ease.

In the autumn of 1821, a company of Missionaries left Worthington in this State, for the South. The farewell meeting was so full that the church was endangered by the weight. They sung "When shall we all meet again," and then in a large baggage wagon, with a basket hung between the seats, in which to cradle the infant, they set forth. On their reaching Stockbridge they paused awhile, and the good people assembled for prayer. The children of the village school were also taken to the public house to visit them. Mr. Byington was directed to accompany them a part of the way, and then he was advised to join the Mission. He left home September 20, taking with him his sister's Bible, and "Saint's Rest," the gift of his mother. That mother and sister he never saw again. His youngest sister joined him after he had followed the Indians through the waste and howling wilderness to the wild home to which a Christian (?) government had driven them; but she died soon afterward, July 29, 1839, aged thirty-five. Mr. Byington has spent the last two Summers chiefly in New York, superintending the printing of the Bible in the Choctaw language. His station among that people he has named Stockbridge, and like nearly every Stockbridgean, he retains a strong fondness for home.

Rev. JOSIAH BREWER was a native of Monterey, in this County, then known only as Tyringham; but in early life became a resident of this town, and afterwards a member of this church. He graduated at Yale College, and was sent as a Missionary to the Jews. But deciding to labor among the Greeks, he returned and married Miss Emilia H. A. Field, December 1, 1829, and soon after sailed for Smyrna. Miss Field, born in Haddam, Ct., February 22, 1807, came to this town soon after her father's settlement here, was hopefully converted in Wethersfield, united with this church, and went from here to Smyrna.—Mr. Brewer and family returned to this country in the autumn of 1838, and now reside in Middletown, Ct.

Miss CATHARINE WATSON spent much of her early life in Stockbridge, and was married from here in August, 1832. She was the daughter of Ebenezer Watson, and grand-daughter of Judge Sedgwick. She Married Rev. Mr. Webb, Missionary of the Baptist Board to Burmah.

They returned for health some years since, and Mrs. Webb died during the winter of 1847, aged about 40.

Miss Catharine S. Sergeant, daughter of deacon Sewall Sergeant, was born in Stockbridge April 10, 1817, united with the church in this place in 1831; but from that time until her embarkation as a missionary, resided generally in Rochester, N. Y. She married Henry A. DeForest, M. D., August 6, 1840, sailed for France September 26, 1841, and joined the Syrian Mission in the Spring of 1842. Station, Beyrout.

Miss Sarah L. Perry, daughter of Mr. Frederic Perry, was born in the West part of this town, January 27, 1824; united with the church in Curtisville, and was married in the church in that village, to Rev. Philander O. Powers, November 9, 1842. She soon sailed for their field of labor, Broosa, but afterwards removed to Trebizond.

Miss Mary Perry, daughter of Dr. Perry, was born in Stockbridge February 28, 1826, and would have united with this church at the age of 12, the church not wishing to admit members at an earlier age, but the unsettled state of the family prevented, and she did not make a profession until 1842, when she united with the church in Williamstown. September 8, 1847, she was married to Rev. J. Edwards Ford, missionary to Syria. They sailed late in December, 1847, and were stationed at Aleppo.

Susan Jane, daughter of Mr. Jonathan Johnson, of the Northeast part of Stockbridge, left in October 1852, for the Choctaw Nation, as a teacher under the direction of the Methodist Board. She accompanied Rev. Mr. Carr and wife, and establishes with them a new Station. Age, 22.



SECTION XXXIX.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

In 1760, £6 10s were voted by the town to be appropriated to the establishment of an English School. Again in 1762, £20 were appropriated to the English School, and Josiah Jones and Stephen Nash were chosen as the com-

mittee. In 1763, the Selectmen were ordered to take charge of the same, and procure a teacher. £30 were voted. These sums were to support the school as long as they held out, and at first probably paid a teacher but part of the year. In 1764, two school-houses were ordered to be built, one near Deacon Samuel Brown's, and the other on the "Plain." The first was eventually placed on the high ground at the corner below Mr. F. Perry's, and the other near the house of Mrs. J. Sedgwick. The vote was obtained to build it on the hill; but there is no tradition of an early house there, and before 1785, one had been built for whites on the first mentioned site, and worn out, which argues that the vote was rescinded. The question was not settled until 1765. In 1767, £35 were voted, and the same in 1768. In 1769, Brown's school-house was moved to its final location, and the North part of the town was set off as a separate district, to extend as "far South as Orangh Stoddard's." In 1774, the East Street district was set off, upon the petition of Samuel Whelpley, Ebenezer Murray, Caleb Galpin, Hall, Smith, Gray, Gershom and Pond, residents. The sum for the support of schools was then over £50. In 1781 and '83, it was £100 each year; in 1785, £75; in 1786, £100; in 1787, £80; in '88, 92; in '92, 92; in '94, 125; in '97, \$500; in '98, 750; in '99 and 1800, the same. In the last named year a committee was chosen to visit the schools, consisting of Rev. Dr. West, Judge Bacon and Barnabas Bidwell Esqs. — a trio not to be lightly esteemed. The sum of \$750 was also voted in 1802, 3, 4 and 6.

Towards the close of the century, a small house was built at the South end of Goodrich Street, in which Mrs. Jemima Nicholson, a sister of the Woodbridges, taught small children a part of the year. The earliest village teachers known, were Desire Nash, Mrs. Kirkland, Sarah Gray, Martha Williams, (afterwards Mrs Jeremiah West of Tolland,) and Mr. Gleazen. On the East Street, Rebecca Galpin, Solomon Jones, Gleason, Coffin and Johnson; and in the Brown District, "Master Norton" and Miss Anna Phelps. But none of these certainly, were the first. To the earliest teachers "the memory of man runneth not." In Curtisville, the eccentric "Master Norton" was first. He was followed by Hosford, Collins, Church and Rachel Frisbee.

In later times, a school-house was built at the corner opposite the house of Mr. S. W. Jones. Here Theodore Dwight, John Kirkland, afterwards president of Harvard, Dr. Joseph Catlin, and "Ma'am Pyncheon" taught. The great effort of the last was to teach spelling and politeness. At the same time Miss Phelps was teaching at the corner on the hill, Miss Polly Donnelly, afterwards the 2d wife of Mr. Kirkland, the missionary, taught in the old Indian boarding school house, and afterwards in the house now occupied by Mrs. H. Curtis, at the West end of the village. The main branch taught in her school was sewing.

But, noted as were these two female teachers in their day, and great as was the respect ever entertained for them by their pupils, they were fully equaled by Miss Abby D., of a later period. "Miss Abby" taught for several years previous to 1811. Long will her pupils remember her influence, quiet, yet strong, and the magic power of "the bugles," an ornamented necklace of black velvet, to win which was their highest ambition. After her came Mrs. L., a woman of devoted piety, but eccentric in views. Like Miss Pyncheon, she too taught the various forms of etiquette, but mingled the ludicrous with the useful, to produce effect. Our next teacher was Miss Clarissa Jones, from Hebron, Ct., a teacher as unlike Mrs. L. as two true christians could be. The exercises of the day were distinguished only by the meekness and quietness of the teacher, except that on Monday morning each pupil recited a Scripture lesson; but at the close Miss J. would kneel down at one end of the room, and commend us to her God so devoutly, and with such simplicity, that the heart must have been hard indeed which did not feel itself in the presence of Jehovah. But Miss J., though young, was ripe for Heaven, and, assuring those around her that her Savior was in sight, she took her departure, October 23, 1815, at the age of 28.

Our present village school-house is fifty or sixty years old, the first which stood upon that spot having been consumed by fire. It is said that the site was once low ground, and overgrown by whortle-berry bushes.

A Select School has several times been taught in Curtisville for a short season. That district was divided in 1837.

Stockbridge Academy was incorporated in 1828. Major Jared Curtis, since Chaplain in the Prison at Charlestown, had been teaching a select school in the village for a few months, and was chosen Preceptor. The school was then, and indeed until about 1837, was taught in what is now called the Lecture Room. After a time, the school of Major Curtis so far increased that Miss Frances E. Jones was employed as assistant. It was not long, however, before Miss Jones was induced to establish a separate school for children and young ladies, which she continued with much success until 1826. Mr. Levi Clafflin filled her place as assistant. In 1825 Major Curtis left to study Theology. Mr. Jonathan Cutler commenced, September, 1825, and taught until June, 1826. After him, were, Mark Hopkins, Elijah Whitney, Rufus Townsend, J. M. Howard, and Julius A. Fay. By the exertions of Mr. Fay, the funds for the new building were obtained. But he left, not far from the time of its completion. Mr. Wolcott, Episcopal Clergyman, afterwards taught for a time, and was followed by Mr. M. Warner, and Mr. H. Carter. In 1840, Mr. Edward W. B. Canning, who had been teaching in Wheeling, Va., took charge of the school, and still continues at the post. The pupils average forty per term. Mr. Cyrus Williams left a fund to this school in 1841, of \$3,000, and it has since been called the Williams Academy. Rev. Noah Sheldon taught a boarding school for boys in the village, from 1829 to 1840. During much of that time, another similar school was taught by Rev. Samuel P. Parker. Mr. Marshall Warner, after teaching in the Academy, established a third boarding school in the West part of the town. Mr. Henry Carter established one in the village in November, 1840, and Mr. F. Fowler commenced another in the Spring of 1851.*

In 1827, Miss Charlotte Whitney commenced in her own house a school for children, which she afterwards taught elsewhere until she erected the East part of what is now the house of Dr. Adams, and opened her school in that. Miss Lucy Atwater joined her, and erected the West part. The school was very popular, and was only

* The last of these closed during the present year. The others continue.

broken up, like that of Miss Jones, by the marriage of the teacher,—in 1841. Miss Atwater was teaching elsewhere.

Previous to the establishment of Williams College, various young men were educated elsewhere, generally at Yale, Princeton, or Harvard. When that institution was founded Dr. West was appointed Vice President and Trustee, which offices he held from 1793 to 1812. Judge Bacon, Judge Sedgwick, and Colonel Williams were also chosen Trustees at the same time. In 1806 Joseph Woodbridge Esq. was chosen; in 1814 Dr. Thaddeus Pomeroy; 1829 Colonel Henry W. Dwight, and in 1836 Mark Hopkins, also President. At the same time Mr. Hopkins was chosen Professor of Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics, having been, since 1830, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Rhetoric. Albert Hopkins was chosen Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in 1829. Mark Hopkins was chosen to the Presidency in 1836. During the winter of 1852 he was employed to deliver Lectures before the Smithsonian Institute.

The Tutors furnished by Stockbridge to Williams College are, Chauncey Lusk, from 1796 to 1798; Jared Curtis, from 1803 to 1804; Mark Hopkins, from 1825 to 1827, and Albert Hopkins from 1827 to 1829.

The first class of graduates from Williams College was composed of Samuel Bishop, John Collins, Chauncey Lusk, and Dan Stone. All lived in Stockbridge except Collins, who was a near neighbor of the other three, but lived within the bounds of Lenox. This was in 1795. In 1798, Amasa Jerome and Oliver Sergeant were graduated. Both studied Divinity. Mr. J. was for a time employed as Home Missionary, but afterwards settled in New Hartford, Ct.

In 1800, Jared Curtis was graduated. Having been employed in other departments for many years, he was Ordained, and has since been Chaplain, first in Auburn State Prison, and until June, 1852, in the Prison at Charlestown. In 1804, the graduates from Stockbridge were Henry D. and Robert Sedgwick. 1805, Lot Rew, who, for a time taught school among the Stockbridge Indians. In 1808 Richard H. Ashley, now teacher in New Canaan, N. Y. 1818, John Whiton, Clergyman. 1820, Edward Fairchild, Minister, teacher in Brooklyn, and

Agent for the A. F. C. Union. 1824, Mark Hopkins, now President of the College, Minister. 1825, Robert Brown and Calvin Durfee, Ministers. 1826, Albert Hopkins, Professor in the College, Minister. 1827, Moses Ashley Curtis, Minister. 1828, William P. Palmer, Lawyer in New York. 1832, Jonathan E. Field, Lawyer in Stockbridge. 1837, William H. Whitney, Editor in Pittsburg, Stephen J. Field, Lawyer in California, and George N. Turner. 1838, Henry M. Field, Minister of West Springfield. 1844, George W. Burrall, M. D., in Illinois. 1847, Charles B. Sheldon, Minister in Ohio; Samuel B. Sheldon, who died while fitting for the Ministry; and Henry Fowler, for a time Editor of Holden's Magazine, but now Editor in Chicago. 1850, Franklin D. Owen, Lawyer in Milwaukee, Wis.

During the same period, many have been educated at other institutions, and others still have been more privately fitted for the professions; but as a list of such must necessarily be imperfect, we will not attempt to give one. Those of the number who have received Degrees at Williams, are, Horatio Jones, M. D., 1810; Timothy Woodbridge, now Rev. Dr. Woodbridge, 1812; Charles Sedgwick, 1814; Horatio Byington, now Judge of Common Pleas, 1835; David D. Field, 1838, and Theodore S. Pomeroy in 1820.

The first Newspaper printed in the County was commenced in this town in the fall of 1788. It was then called the "Western Star," and was a weekly. The name was afterwards changed to Berkshire Star, under which title it was removed to Lenox in 1828. From March, 1841, until sometime during 1843, "The Visitor" was printed here, edited by J. E. Field, Esq. For several years also, about the same period, a Temperance paper was printed here. As an index of the taste and principles of the people in the matter of periodical literature, we give a list of the Periodicals taken from the South Post Office in 1852.— Besides these, however, the Congregational parish is supplied with the American Messenger, and the Journal of Missions, and to some extent with the Day Spring and Child's paper:

Daily Tribune, 10; Semi-Weekly Tribune, 1; New York Observer, 17; Independent, 6; Semi-Weekly Spec-

tator, 3; Home Journal, 4; Daily Herald, 3; New York Organ, 5; Daily Times, 3; New York Sun, 3; New York Post, 4; Christian Advocate, 6; Evening Post, 3; Christian Inquirer, 3; Penny Dispatch, 3; Sailor's Magazine, 9; Home Missionary, 10; Missionary Herald, 9; Harper's Magazine, 2; Blackwood's Magazine, 1; Spirit of the Times, 1; Guide to Holiness, 2; Theological Journal, 1; Musical Review, 1; Boston Culturist, 14; New England Farmer, 4; Youth's Companion, 6; Christian Witness, 2; Boston Pilot, 3; Medical Journal, 1; American Union, 4; Springfield Reporter, 4; National Era, 2; Postal Guide, 1; Boston Advertiser, 1; Graham's Magazine, 1; Massachusetts Spy, 1; Albany Cultivator, 2; Newark Sentinel, 1; Pittsfield Sun, 7; Massachusetts Eagle, 18; Grey Lock Sentinel, 4; New York Churchman, 1; Barrington Courier, 6; Christian Union, 4; Parlor Magazine, 4; Jewish Chronicle, 1; Merry's Museum, 3; Phrenological Journal, 4; Watchman and Reflector, 1; Springfield Daily Post, 4; Northampton Courier, 1; Boston Weekly Journal, 2; National Intelligencer, 1; Boston Morning Daily Journal, 1; Culturist and Gazette, 14; London Quarterly Review, 1; Edinburgh Review, Qr., 1; Westminster Review, Qr., 1; Blackwood's Monthly Magazine, 1; North British Quarterly, 1; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 2; Knickerbocker, 2.

A public Library was formed about 1790, which continued in circulation until 1822, when it was sold at auction, and purchased generally by owners of shares. In 1826, a Juvenile Library was formed, which still exists, enlarged, at the Academy. A Library was commenced in Curtisville in 1814. Some of the school districts in town also, have common school libraries.

About 1812, books for children being very rare, the little girls of the village school formed a temporary association which might be called a Lending Society. Each one agreed on the one hand to lend her little library to members of the Society, and on the other hand to use with care, and return with promptness, whatever she borrowed. To carry this out, only one book was in the hands of the borrower at a time, and Saturday was chosen for the day of exchange. Could such a principle of faithfulness in the use of other's talents but pervade our adult commu-

nity, how much might "knowledge be increased," and how many perplexities, vexations, and mortifications might be avoided.

In the autumn of 1827, a Philomathian Association was formed, which continued until 1835. The members delivered lectures, held debates, and, by their annual subscriptions, formed a library of the larger, and more expensive periodicals of Great Britain and America. A Lyceum was also sustained for a short period.

During the winter of 1838-9, the Lyceum was reformed, and continued until the winter of 1843-4.

In 1840, a Scientific Association was formed, which under that, and the name of "Society for the Promotion of Science and General Literature," continued until 1847. The members read original essays, and also collected a small, but valuable library.

We may safely say that Stockbridge has produced its fair proportion of authors, poets, &c. But their own works are their most appropriate commendation; monuments, whose durability will be proportioned to their value.



SECTION XL.

PHYSICIANS.

Dr. Erastus Sergeant, son of the missionary, was the first physician who established himself in Stockbridge. He studied with Dr. Thomas Williams of Deerfield, and commenced practice in 1768. He was much esteemed, and fitted more than twenty young men for the profession. He died November 14, 1814, at the age of 72. Among his students were, Dr. Stearnes of New York, Dr. Root, Dr. Whitney, Dr. Catlin, Dr. Hopkins, Dr. James, Dr. Williams, S. W. Williams, Dr. Stoddard, Dr. Carrington, &c.

Dr. Oliver Partridge, born April 26, 1757, studied medicine in Hatfield, and came to Stockbridge when quite young. He was particularly skillful in chronic complaints, and in detecting the diseases of children. He lived to the advanced age of 97, dying July 23d, 1848.

Dr. Tidmarsh came to America as surgeon in the employment of the British, and settled at Richmond, in this county, in 1778. Mrs. Edwards of Stockbridge, not long after, broke a limb, and employed him as her physician; and his surgical skill gave such satisfaction, that he was led to settle here. He built the house lately occupied by Colonel Goodrich; died about 1790.

Dr. Horatio Jones, son of Captain Josiah Jones, was born December 30, 1769, studied medicine in Philadelphia, was settled in Stockbridge previous to 1800, the time of his marriage, and died April 26, 1813. We take the following extracts from his obituary:

"As a man, he combined in himself all those excellencies and virtues, which constituted him just what the excellent and the virtuous wished him to be. As a scholar, he was eminent. His researches were deep, thorough, and effectual. As a Physician, it is no more than justice to say, he had but few equals. In addition to his extensive medical knowledge and skill, he possessed, more than any other man we have ever known, the talent of rendering himself pleasing, easy, and agreeable to the objects of his professional attention. There was something in his manner, which, though indescribable, could almost restore the sick to health, and would induce a smile of complacency even on the pale cheek of the dying. Without any regard to his own ease or quiet, he devoted all his time and talents to the service of the public. He possessed the entire confidence of all, and he was justly entitled to it. The loss of the community in the death of this distinguished man is irreparable."

"As a friend, companion, husband and father, he was above all price, and certainly above our poor praise. But the most distinguished trait in his character remains unmentioned. He was a CHRISTIAN. And as he drew nearer and nearer to the close of life, his joys and prospects continued to brighten; and when he found all earthly objects fading from his view, and the light of eternity just opening upon him, he cried 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit,' and 'fell asleep.'"

Dr. Royal Fowler soon took the place of Dr. Jones. He was a native of Pittsfield, and had been practicing in Barrington. He was a peculiarly careful physician, and much confided in by his patients. He died in great peace, September 20, 1849, at the age of 63. Dr. Perry has been mentioned. At present, our Physicians are Dr. V. White, a native of Becket, who came to this place in

1837, and settled in Curtisville; Dr. L. S. Adams, a native of New Marlborough, who came in 1838, and Dr. McAllister, who came in 1851. The last two are settled in the village. Dr. W. Perine from New Jersey, practised two years, but left in 1851.



SECTION XLI.

AFRICAN POPULATION.

As, beyond all question, the dark cloud of slavery hung for a time over our beautiful valley, there is reason to suppose that Africans were held in bondage by our early families, though we have no knowledge of the fact. The first historical or traditional mention of the race in Stockbridge is in 1751, when the family of President Edwards settled here. In his family, was a married woman by the name of Rose, who is said to have been stolen from Africa when a child, as she was getting water at a spring. *She* had not received her freedom, and her husband, Joab, was the slave of a Mr. Hunt of Northampton, but it is the traditional account of the matter, that in his zeal to remove Mr. Edwards from Northampton, Hunt readily released his bondman to come with him.

After the death of President Edwards, if not before, Joab and his wife settled in the South part of the town, where he labored as a blacksmith. He was a man of good sense and steady, christian deportment. After the birth and death of several infants, Rose came to Dr. West to request admission to the church, thinking that God had slain her children in anger, because of her neglect of this duty. The instructions of Dr. West upon the subject, not only led her to see her unfitness for church membership, but the real alienation of her heart from God, and were blessed to her conversion. She united with the church, and ever after adorned her profession. After her death, Dr. West published an account of her christian life and experience in the "Theological Magazine."

At the close of the Revolutionary War, some of the

families residing here had slaves in their possession. Dr. Sergeant had two, Joe Walker and Tamar, formerly a slave of Mr. Bull of Westfield, and sold by him to Dr. Sergeant after his marriage. Captain Jones had one, Sarah, wife of Prince Wanton. These slaves were promised their liberty at the end of two years. But before that period had expired, the Legislature of Massachusetts passed the Act which abolished slavery in the Commonwealth. This Act was sent to the towns to receive the sanction of the people. The question excited much interest here. It was feared there might be opposition. Dr. West was in the habit of opening the Town Meetings with prayer, and then retiring. But when the question of slavery, or no slavery, was to be put to the consciences and purses of his people, he waited to see which would prevail. Conscience triumphed; those, it seems, who had just declared "all men of right free and equal," and opened their purses and offered their life blood to maintain the heaven-born truth, made no effort to vote in exceptions on the ground of color; and when Dr. West took his hat and left, doubtless breathing his grateful acknowledgements to the Creator and Father of all, Judge Sedgwick audibly repeated the Scripture—"Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

Soon after this, a woman named Elizabeth Freeman fled from her master, Colonel Ashley of Sheffield, under circumstances of peculiar interest. Slavery in New England was of the mildest character possible in a depraved world. Masters and mistresses labored in company with their slaves, familiarity was indulged, attachments were formed, and slaves were seldom sold from their families, or ill-treated, farther than the one act of holding them in bondage. Consequently the soul stood in a measure erect, and would not bear the foot of oppression. Elizabeth was born in Claverack, N. Y., and was purchased from Mr. Hogeboom of that town, by Colonel Ashley, at the age of six months. It was in the winter, and she was brought on the bottom of a sleigh, covered with straw, to Sheffield. A sister and herself remained in the family of Colonel Ashley until after the adoption of the Constitution; and though her husband died in achieving the liberty of her master's country, no measures were taken to extend to her

the same blessing. Under these circumstances, "she one day," says Mr. H. Sedgwick in a sketch of her life, "saw a blow aimed at her sister with the heated kitchen shovel," a fit of passion having led to this unusual barbarity. Betty interposed her own arm, and received a blow which left its scar for life, and then left the house, refusing to return upon any conditions. Colonel Ashley resorted to the law to recover her; and the case was tried at Great Barrington. It was one of the first cases tested in this way, and the Massachusetts Bill of Rights—"that all men are born free and equal"—prevailed. Betty was made free, and thus a hope of success held out for those who, like her, were held in bondage contrary, not only to the laws of Nature and the rules of the Gospel, but to the accepted and recorded laws of the State.

Judge Sedgwick was the principal agent in her deliverance, and Mum Bett, as she was afterwards called, immediately testified her gratitude by devoting herself to the service of his family in every way in her power. She had one child, called "Little Bett," and a family of grandchildren and great-grandchildren, whom she helped to maintain. Her usual employment was nursing, in which she was peculiarly skilled. Her good sense, skill and energy, made her useful, and enabled her to become intelligent; and that faithfulness with which she discharged her duties inducing entire confidence, she was an object of respect and esteem. Her death occurred in December, 1829, when she was supposed to be nearly 100 years of age.

Another individual of the same race, who has been peculiarly distinguished in Stockbridge, is Agrippa Hull.—He was born in Northampton, in the days of slavery, but of free parents, who lived near Licking Water Bridge.—At the age of six, he was brought to Stockbridge by Joab, and lived here until 1777, when he enlisted as a soldier during the war. His mother had married a second husband, and he was living with his parents; and not liking his step-father, he said "the war could not last too long for him." The first two years, which seem to have commenced during the winter of 1777, he was servant to Col. Patterson; but for four years he was in the service of Kosciusko, the Polish General. He was discharged at West Point, having been engaged six years and two

months. He was afterwards in the service of Judge Sedgwick, while that gentleman was a member of Congress in New York.

Not long after the case of Mum Bett had been decided. Jane Darby, the slave of Mr. Ingersoll of Lenox, it is said, left her master and took refuge in Stockbridge. She and Agrippa soon agreed to tread life's path in company; but her master still claimed his chattel, and endeavored to seize her. Agrippa applied to Judge Sedgwick for aid, and obtained her discharge. She was a woman of excellent character, and made a profession of her faith in Christ. Some years after her death, Agrippa married Margaret Timbroke, who still lives respected among us. In 1827, he became hopefully pious, and united with the church, evidently enlisting as he had done in the service of his country—for better or for worse, as long as life's warfare lasted.

The character of Agrippa could scarcely be called eccentric, and yet it was unique. He was witty, and his presence at weddings seemed almost a necessity. There, as he wedged himself and his "good cheer" into every crowded corner, his impromptu rhymes, and his courteous jokes, were always welcome. He had no cringing servility, and certainly never thought meanly of himself, or had opportunity to do so, yet he was perfectly free from all airs and show of consequence. He seemed to feel himself every whit a man, while, even in his public prayers, he gave thanks for the kind notice of his "white neighbors to a poor black nigger." His language was so simple, and his petitions often so peculiarly adapted to the every day needs of his hearers, or of those perishing around him, that a smile was sometimes provoked from the thoughtless; but the true worshiper could not fail to realize his dependence upon Divine Grace for every right action or emotion, as well as for every breath. Never, until the secrets of all hearts are revealed, can the school-boy, whose merry shouts fell upon his ear as he led the social circle in devotion, know how much of his fairness in games, or his safety from the wiles of those older than himself, was in answer to the fervent prayer of this humble servant of God then ascending for that, so often forgotten, blessing. While he lived too, the church always had one at least, who possessed "a spirit of grace and of supplication."

In speaking of distinctions on account of color, though Agrippa was far from intruding himself uncalled, he would argue—"It is not the *cover* of the book, but what the book *contains* is the question. Many a good book has dark covers." "Which is the worst, the white black man, or the black white man? to be black outside, or to be black inside?"

Once, when servant to a man who was haughty and overbearing, both Agrippa and his master attended the same church, to listen to a discourse from a distinguished mulatto preacher. On coming out of the house, the gentleman said to Agrippa, "Well, how do you like nigger preaching?" "Sir," he promptly retorted, "he was half black and half white; I liked *my* half, how did you like *yours*?"

Thus he was ever ready with a patient, and often a witty answer; and he commended efforts for the good of his race still in bondage, by saying, "they will do good by helping them to keep down their bad feelings until deliverance comes." He felt deeply the wrongs of his nation, but his feelings rose on the wings of prayer, rather than burst from the muzzle of the musket. Had he lived to the present day, he was not the man to have taken up arms against the laws of his country which he had fought so long to redeem; yet in principle he would have much preferred the fugitive statute of Moses,—“Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among you in that place which he shall choose, where it liketh him best.” Deut. 23: 15, 16; and, though unpresuming himself, he might perhaps suggest for others, even that of “Paul the aged,”—“Though I might be much bold in Christ to *enjoin* thee, yet for love’s sake I rather *beseech* thee, receive him that is mine own bowels; not now as a servant, but *above* a servant, a brother beloved, both in flesh and in the Lord. Receive him as myself.”—Phil. 8 to 17th.

Agrippa was born March 7, 1759, and died, after a long illness, May 1, 1848, aged nearly eighty-nine.

Others of the race also, have “deserved well of their generation.” Enoch Humphrey was a man of much sound sense and general intelligence. Jonah, his brother,

went to Liberia, and was very favorably noticed there, but died soon. Mariann, a niece, has, also, joined the colony, and has made herself useful, and expressed her satisfaction with its advantages. John Mars, also, from this church, and his sister, are there. But, perhaps from want of the proper information and encouragement, our colored population have manifested little interest in the enterprise, and instead of seeking a permanent home, seem, like the red man of the forests, to be melting away.



SECTION XLII.

CRIME AND CASUALTIES.

It may be that more than one inhabitant of Stockbridge has earned a capital condemnation from the government, but only one has ever received it; and that one had few associations in this place. He lived near the town line, but we are sorry to say, *in* Stockbridge.

One murder has been committed in the town. Many years since, two men, supposed to have been the same who had broken from the jail at Albany, were traced from Inn to Inn in this direction. One of them paid all the bills. They had an axe-helve with them. Sometime afterward, a man was found dead near the road which leads through the mountain pass to West Stockbridge Village, and a bloody axe-helve near him. Still later, a man was hung in New Haven, who confessed that he had, besides the crime for which he was about to suffer, murdered a man on Stockbridge Mountain.

Several suicides have been committed or attempted in Stockbridge, or by Stockbridge people. The names it is not necessary to give. The cases are these, 1st. A woman being deranged, starved herself. 2d. A man of intemperate habits, while absent from town, committed this crime. 3d. A man who was deranged cut his throat; also out of town. 4th. An intemperate man, while in a neighboring State, cut his throat, and died of the wound after being brought home. 5th. A woman was brought here in a

gloomy state of mind which increased to derangement, and she drowned herself in the Housatonic. 6th. A man who was transiently in town for his health, and deranged, took laudanum with the intent to destroy life, but was restored. 7th. A deranged man hung himself, but was released. 8th. A vagabond who had been in town four days, deliberately put an end to the life of which he had become weary. 9th. A deranged woman hung herself. 10th. A deranged woman drowned herself in the cistern. Few of these, it will be seen, were responsible for the deed ; three were not residents of Stockbridge, and the same number were absent from town at the time of the act ; two also were saved ; leaving four suicides committed by Stockbridge people, two from derangement, and two from intemperance, besides one suicidal act, which did not result in death, and which was caused by derangement.

Mr. D. Cadwell, who has probably kept the most perfect record of events of any person in town, gives the deaths by lightning, 1, a man near Alger's Furnace ; deaths by freezing, 1, a foreigner who had been drunk a week. He called at the gate near West Stockbridge just at night in the month of March, while Mr. C. was keeper, and obtained some food. The next morning he was found dead about half way down the mountain. Name McDaniels or McDonald. Deaths by accident, 15 ; drowned, 14 ; also the number of houses and barns burned before the first fire at Glendale, 1847, 13. The 2d fire at Glendale was in April, 1849. In September, 1851, the shop of Mr. Burt was burned ; in February, 1852, the mill at Curtisville ; in the autumn of 1852, the barn of Mrs. Cooper ; and that of Mr. Turner in December. In December, 1853, the woolen factory in Curtisville was burnt.

Two or three casualties deserve to be recorded for the remembrance of the merciful deliverance which attended each. About 25 years since, a father in the village was alarmed by the exclamation that little H. was in the well. The skirt of his dress had been seen as it passed over the curb. The well was very deep, and very difficult of ascent ; but before he had taken time to consider the impossibility of the act, the father stood by the well with his child in his arms. Nor could he then tell how he had been enabled to deliver him.

Not long afterward, a boy in Curtisville walked out on the timbers which extended into the water for some purpose, [the dam] we are told, and stood for a few moments looking into the stream. As he turned to go back, a hand rose from the water, and grasping it, he drew from the stream his little brother, still alive. He had probably followed his elder brother, though the latter was unconscious of his presence.

In the spring of 1851, a citizen of Stockbridge was buried in a well in Lee, about 9 or 10 in the morning, and continued until 7 in the evening, when he was taken out without serious injury.



SECTION XLIII.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The first public work on record in Stockbridge of any note, was the building of the bridge over the Housatonic, South of the village, and the erection of the causeway to it—1760. 1764, the road was laid over the hill, entering at Cadwell's meadow gate, and passing in order the houses of Josiah Jones Jr., Josiah Jones Sen., the Sergeant heirs, Major Elijah Williams, Dr. West, Deacon Wilson, Major James Gray, John Taylor, Samuel Messenger, and Ezra Whittlesey. Major Gray lived in what is now Major Dewey's farm house. 1773, the house formerly occupied by J. Jones Sen., was procured for a Work House, and J. Jones Jr. was chosen overseer of its inmates. 1797, fire-hooks were provided. 1798, a gun-house was built. This has long been used for a private dwelling, and at times for a Confessional. 1800, turnpike to Great Barrington. Small Pox admitted in 1785, 1791, and 1803, by vote of the town. (First vaccination in 1802.) The first Post Office in the county was established here in 1792. The first stage run through here was, we are informed, run by Mr. J. Hicks, about 1812. The first store in the county was established by T. Edwards Esq., in the house now owned by Major Owen in 1772. The three East elms in

front of the house were transplanted from the grove of young elms on the line between this town and Lee, by the late Colonel William Edwards, in 1786. The next year, some one else set out the fourth. The maples through the street were set out near that time, and perhaps the same year, at the suggestion of General Silas Pepoon.

The Housatonic Bank was incorporated in 1825, with a capital of \$100,000. Cyrus Williams of Stockbridge was the President from October 31, 1825, to November 5, 1838; Edward Burrall of Stockbridge from thence to October 12, 1843; William P. Walker of Lenox from the last date until October 1, 1829, since which, Charles M. Owen has filled the office. The first Cashier was Edward Burrall; May 1, 1836, Benoni C. Wells succeeded, who was followed, October 1, 1836, by Junius D. Adams from New Marlborough, now in Pittsfield.

The Grave Yard in Curtisville was opened for burial in 1834. In 1838 the question of a Town Hall came up. The vote to build with the Surplus Revenue, passed in December; January 14, 1839, the location was decided upon, and a committee chosen to make a contract for building, the cost not to exceed \$1880.

In 1846, it was voted to enlarge the South Grave Yard, and to pay \$1000 for the ground, provided the buildings upon it, and whatever was not wanted, could be sold for \$500. Provision was also made to extend the yard a few feet south and west, and to set shade trees on the borders. \$75, besides what could be raised from the sale of the Powder House, (which had stood in the N. E. corner) and of the grass, was to be spent in opening carriage roads, and in ornamental works. An effort had been made some twelve years previous, to ornament the yard, and the shrubbery along the south side was then set; and a short time previous to the extension of the limits, another sum was raised for the same purpose; both efforts being made by the Ladies. The yard is now in the care of a Committee, and no person can inclose a lot, or bury a friend from abroad, without leave from that body.

The Rail Road through Stockbridge was commenced in 1849, and opened in November of that year.

The Telegraph was run through this place in 1848.—The people of Stockbridge declined to establish an office

here ; and wisely, it would seem, as the business on the route did not sustain the expense, and it was dropped in 1850.

When the permanent location of the County buildings was still an open question, an effort was made in 1784 to have the Supreme Courts held in Stockbridge ; but it failed. The town has, however, furnished a good proportion of the public men, which is more to her credit than a central location could be. Theodore Sedgwick was Judge of the Supreme Judicial Court from 1802 until his death in 1813.

Ephraim Williams and Timothy Woodbridge, it is said, were Judges of the Court of Common Pleas for Hampshire County previous to 1761, and Timothy Woodbridge for Berkshire, until 1774. Jahleel Woodbridge from 1781 to 1795 ; John Bacon from 1789 to 1811. Judge J. Woodbridge is supposed to have presided from 1787 until 1795 ; and Judge Bacon from 1807 until 1811, when the Court was abolished, presided by especial appointment. Judge Bacon was also Chief Justice in 1809.

Clerks of the Court from Stockbridge. Henry F. Dwight for 1781 to 1803 ; Joseph Woodbridge, from 1803 to 1821 ; and Charles Sedgwick, who removed to Lenox on that account, from 1821 to the present time.

County Attorneys from Stockbridge. Theodore Sedgwick, previous to 1802, but for how long a time we do not find. John Hunt, from 1811 to 1814.

County Treasurers. Henry W. Dwight from September 14, 1784 ; Moses Ashley from February 5, 1788, and Barnabas Bidwell from September 1701 to August 1810, each taking the place of the preceding.

Judges of Probate. Timothy Edwards from 1778 to 1787, and Jahleel Woodbridge from that time until 1795.

Registers of Probate. Edward Edwards from 1785 to 1795 ; and George Whitney from December 1823 to 1825.

The State Senators elected from Stockbridge by the County, have been Jahleel Woodbridge, 1780 and 1784, including the intervening years. John Bacon in 1781 and 1782, 1794, 5, 6, 8, and 1805 and 6. Theodore Sedgwick in 1784 and 5 ; and Barnabas Bidwell in 1801 and 2.— Gen. William Williams 1840–1, and Col. J. Z. Goodrich in 1848.

Members of the Governor's Council. Timothy Woodbridge is said to have declined an appointment from the King prior to the Revolution. Timothy Edwards held the office from 1775 to 1780. Major C. M. Owen in 1850.—He was on the Council Committee to whom the petition to pardon Professor Webster was referred.

Representatives to Congress chosen by the Legislature. Timothy Edwards, in 1779, declined the appointment, and Theodore Sedgwick served in that capacity in 1785 and 6.

Members of Congress chosen by the people. Theodore Sedgwick, from 1789 to 1797, and from 1799 to 1801; John Bacon, from 1801 to 1803; Barnabas Bidwell, from 1803 to 1806; Henry W. Dwight from 1821 to 1829.—In 1851, Col. J. Z. Goodrich was elected.



SECTION XLIV.

VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS, NATIVE AND FOREIGN.

THE farms in Stockbridge are often spoken of as remarkably good, and easy of culture. Formerly, fine crops of wheat were raised; but for several years past, farmers have turned their attention to other crops, and depended upon the more westerly States for their flour. The timber is also valuable, and of wild fruits we have the varieties of nuts, red plums, raspberries, whortleberries, blackberries, strawberries, &c. Occasionally the "white blackberry" has been found. The black currant and goose-berry are common, and the white currants which are now cultivated, sprung from a bush found by Captain Jones growing wild upon his farm. The pigeon grape, generally called the frost grape is abundant, and the true frost grape has been found. In cultivated fruit, Stockbridge is often said by strangers to excel.

The "Stockbridge Damask Rose," as many strangers have been pleased to denominate it, has few equals. Until near the close of the last century, it was known only in the gardens of Dr. West and the Joneses, from which we infer that its was brought from Weston. The red rose

grows, spontaneously to appearance, where was once the garden of Mr. Jones, sen., and was probably an early settler. The cinnamon rose is believed to have been brought from Farmington, Conn., by Miss Mercy Scott. The white rose was brought from Ellington, Conn. At the present day, the rapidity of transportation is leading to a great increase in the varieties of roses and other shrubs.

An Agricultural Society was formed here in 1824, and extended to other towns in 1826, in which form it existed for some years. The Society formed at Barrington in 1840, now occupies the sphere which this filled. At one of the early exhibitions, a juvenile Floral Procession added much to the interest.

A "Shrubbery Society" was formed about the same time; but the ill-success of the first purchase caused its dissolution.

The Horticultural Society for the County was formed in Lenox, June 5, 1847. The Fair held in the autumn of 1851 was very gratifying, and that in 1852 not less so. Much of the delicious fruit upon the loaded tables was from Stockbridge. At the Fair here in 1850, a vote was passed, to depend more in future upon the ladies for the interest of the occasion. This referred to the decorations of the room. Yet it has never been our lot to entertain the Society until the frosts of autumn had swept over our gardens, leaving death and desolation behind them. We hope that our turn may come ere long to be on the sunny side of their appointments. "The North Stockbridge Club," has been in operation about three years.



SECTION XLV.

GEOGRAPHY.

No one, in passing through Stockbridge, would be reminded of the Alhambra, or of "The City of Palaces;" but "Eden!" has, under such circumstances, dropped from the lips, and comparisons are sometimes drawn which exempt Stockbridge people from the charge of exaggera-

tion when they grow warm in the praise of home. The view, as one enters from the west, or the south, is very beautiful. Monument Mountain is an admirable point of observation ; and from a little elevation in the south part of the town, called Rose Hill, a zone of beauty encircles the observer, not often surpassed. The drives about the town all possess circumstances of interest peculiarly their own. Curtisville, East Street, and Glen Dale, have each points of observation worth visiting ; particularly the last, where a cone-shaped hill seems piled up on purpose to afford an extensive prospect. But, it is generally agreed, that the view from "the Hill," which rises north of the village, is the most perfect. This elevation possesses the most extensive table land of any in the vicinity. The road passes for a long distance upon its brow, and the view is not only beautiful and extended, but constantly changing. The best view of the village is obtained as soon as the summit is gained ; but from a point near the house of Mr. Hull, not only a part of "the Village," pre-eminently, but Curtisville, Larawaugh, Glen Dale, and Goodrich Street, may be distinctly seen. Yet no one has seen all of Stockbridge, until he has taken the bird's-eye view to be obtained from the top of the house formerly owned by Dr. West. An old African woman, who used occasionally to work at Dr. West's, would go, when her work was done, and sit upon the stairs leading from the upper garret to the roof, "because it was so near to heaven." But if near to heaven is synonymous with away from earth, it is one of the last places which we should think of selecting for such a reason ; for one seems there in the very center of created beauty. It is not self-praise for us to talk thus of our own valley. It came from the hand of its Creator, fashioned for a canvas ; and since the hand of art has been employed in painting its surface, His skill has guided every woodman and every builder, that all should be arranged in symmetry, where symmetry was to be desired, and beautiful disorder, where confusion would add a charm. It is not our palaces, our parks, our temples, or our artistic lakes and glens ; we have none of these ; but it is that He, who is "excellent in counsel and wonderful in working," has vouchsafed to paint a picture here which is ever redolent of praise.

And may it be, that not from earth alone shall rise that savor, which mind—elevated, sanctified mind,—should ever give.

The Housatonic River winds among the meadows as its name denotes. Its earlier name, as Mr. De Forest gives it from the Stratford records, was Paugussett. It enters the town from Lee, and passes around the western end of Monument Mountain into Barrington. It rises in Windsor on the east, and Lanesborough Pond on the north; these two streams unite at Pittsfield. In Stockbridge it is five or six rods wide, and averages between two and three feet deep. Its curves are often beautiful, particularly one called the "Ox Bow."

Seepoosah, or Sepoose, as it should probably be spelled, meaning a little rivulet, rises in Tyringham and Great Barrington, and empties into the Housatonic. It has been known as Konk's Brook.

Another brook flows from a pond in the north part of the town, but is not known by any particular name. The pond from which it flows is one mile long and half a mile in breadth. It has been called by several names; the most beautiful, we think, is "Mountain Mirror." It is appropriate, too. The name, as obtained by Esquire F. from an Indian who visited Stockbridge some years ago, was "Mah-kee-nac—Great Water." But we have the testimony of Mr. Slingerland that Mah-kee-nac is only an adjective, meaning *great*; and by referring to the Section upon Language, the reader will see that the word water cannot, as Mr. Slingerland remarks, be added; for the adjective must be turned into a neuter verb.

Mohawk Pond is a smaller sheet of water which lies in an opening in the Stockbridge Mountain to the south.

Stockbridge seems cradled in mountains. On the south are the bold peaks, and the more western part of Monument Mountain, so named by the English from the cone shaped pile of stones upon its southern slope, but by the Indians called Maus-wos-see khi, or Fisher's Nest. On the west is Stockbridge Mountain, and on the north, the Rattle Snake of the English, called by the Indians Deow-kook, or Hill of the Wolves. This mountain is two miles in length, and is entirely within the limits of the town, though quite on its northern border. It contains a cave

of some interest, although much of its surface is easily tilled. In the south-east, Bear-town Mountain extends a considerable distance ; but to the east the land stretches off for several miles, as if to let in the morning ; and between Bear-town and a low range beyond, another valley opens to the east. The ground is undulating, and the villages of Lee, lying in the lower parts of that first named, are overlooked, so that the eye rests upon the high mountain range in the eastern part of the County, whose patches of wood and of cultivation form an agreeable alternation. Within this cradle, the village occupies a position southeast from central. West of this is Glen Dale ; East street runs to the north, and is in the north-east part of the town ; and Curtisville lies in the north-west part, between Stockbridge Mountain and the Mountain Mirror. This and Glen Dale are manufacturing villages. Stockbridge Iron Works, at the west end of Monument, has also a surrounding population.

Within the town are various hills which possess more or less of beauty. Among these is the one South of the Academy, upon which Arnold was burned in effigy, called Laurel Hill, which in the Indian tongue would be Aum-hoo-ne-moo-seek Woo-chook. It stands almost in the heart of the village, and in the season of bloom is a most beautiful object. Esquire Fields' description is most graphic :—

“ Or wanders 'mid yon laurel bowers,
Whose blushing beauty clothes the hill,
As though a very snow of flowers
Had fallen from heaven, and lay there still.”

Ice Glen is a cleft in the rocks which form the summit of what is called Little Mountain, a spur from the Western end of Bear-town. It was perhaps never entered until within the present century, and was first passed through by torch-light, we suppose, during the summer of 1841. That season Mr. Parker took his scholars through ; but as their lights went out, it was rather a dangerous, than a pleasant ramble. Since that time however, the feat has become quite a common diversion. During the summer of 1850, the lamented Miss Mary M. Chase was one of a party who performed it ; and having her kind permission to transfer to our pages her sketch of the scene, pub-

ished soon after in Holden's Magazine, and pronounced by her companions to be strictly truthful, (however the reality might baffle the descriptive powers of others,) we give it entire, and make no attempt of our own, except to say, that the rift is about one-fourth of a mile in length.

ICE GLEN.

"Away to the Ice Glen! the dews are fast falling,
From the dim, misty tree-tops the night-birds are calling,
From the measureless heavens the starlight is gleaming,
Look on through the trees where the torches are beaming;
The shadows are beckoning, we must not delay,—
Don the shoon, seize the staff, to the Ice Glen away!

"Well met, free companions! a bold band are we!
Let the faggots be kindled, each other to see!
Ho! ho! what a picture! the turban and shawl,
The bandit's red sash, hat painted and tall,
The gay scarlet cap, the roses, and plume,
How strangely they mingle, and shine through the gloom!

"Va! allons! move on! prenez garde! now we go!
The motley procession sets out with the glow
Of the torches, wide pouring along the rough track,
And kindling wild gleams on the rocks huge and black;
The slumbering echoes are wakened again,
As laughter and shouts ring afar through the Glen.

"On! On! o'er our heads the fearless trunks tower,
Watching grimly the tumult that startles the hour.
Around lie the Titan rocks, gloomy and vast,
Fettered firm to the earth where in wrath they were cast.
Stoop! clamber! light foot, strong hand, here we need,
Eagle eye, steady nerve, all these dangers to heed.

"Beware how you pass by yon terrible steep,
Or in its dark bosom forever you'll sleep!
Hold! back! here's a charm that cannot be crossed!
Now a leap! *not a slip!* or your foothold is lost!
Look before you, far down, what a perilous way!
Yet there does our path lie, we cannot delay.

"Ho! trusty companions! come tell us what cheer,—
Our torches are dying, we must not pause here,—
Give us light, give us aid! here's a horrible rift,
And the strong must the weak o'er its fearfulness lift!

List how the scared echoes reply to our call,
Till the very rocks vibrate, and threaten to fall !

“ Lo ! our way is closed up with a barrier high,
That seems, in the darkness, to blend with the sky,
What ! creep we beneath it ? That crevice may be
The path to some horror we shrink but to see !
No turning ! on ! on ! by the torches' red flame,
Through the cavern's dark mouth we must clamber the same.

“ Again we may breathe, then onward we go
In our perilous path, but our progress is slow.
Awhile we may pause, and gaze down through the Glen,
Where the flaring lights gleam o'er the people, and then
Once more to the journey. At last we emerge
From the beautiful horror—we stand on the verge

“ Of the Glen's farthest entrance ; before us the night
Lies quiet and holy—how changed is the sight,
And the spirit how changed ; no longer the toil
Gives zest to the journey ;—the coveted spoil
Of mosses and fern-leaves that gloriously shone
In the torchlight, seem faded—that radiance gone.

“ How like to life's pathway, the Glen of the Soul ;
With footsteps untried yet, we start for the goal,
By perilous chasms our pathway must lead ;
We make bright our torches, we journey with speed ;
Happy we, if we break not on treacherous rock,
And our light goes not out with the dangerous shock.

“ We gather gay trophies that win us to stay,
Though a mandate still urges, that we must obey ;
A strong hand upholds us, when else we would fall,
With jesting and laughter we travel through all :
At last the wild passage is ended, and then
In silence we stand at the mouth of the Glen.

“ Behind us our comrades in companies throng—
We hear, though but faintly, their murmurs and song ;
Above us the pale stars of heaven we see ;
From our hands drop the treasures we gathered in glee ;
And on through the darkness, mysterious, forlorn,—
We travel alone to Eternity's dawn.”

June 1st, 1850, Stockbridge contained 1940 inhabitants, 363 families, 334 dwellings, 102 farms, and 7 manufactories.

SECTION XLVI.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

LITERARY, CIVIL, MILITARY, INGENIOUS, &c., &c.

BRIG. GEN. JOSEPH DWIGHT.

GENERAL DWIGHT was born in Dedham, in 1703, and admitted to the bar as an inhabitant of Brookfield in 1733. But he soon engaged in a military career, in which he gathered brilliant laurels. Particularly, he was distinguished as commander of the Massachusetts Artillery at the capture of Louisburg in 1745, when he carried the ordnance and military stores across the extensive and miry morass west of the town; and also in the subsequent attack upon the walls.

About the year 1750 or '51, he married Mrs. John Sergeant of Stockbridge, and settled here as Trustee of the Indian Schools, bringing with him Lawrence Lynch, a young man from Ireland who had been with him at Cape Breton. He resided in the dwelling erected by Mr. Sergeant on the Hill. In 1756, he was sent at the head of a brigade to Lake Champlain, and soon after his return, purchased a place in Great Barrington, and removed his family thither. When Berkshire County was formed, in 1761, he was chosen Judge of both Courts, and held those offices until his death, which occurred at Barrington, June 9, 1765, at the age of 62. He had, previous to becoming a citizen of Stockbridge, viz. in 1739, been appointed Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Worcester County. Judge Dwight was a graduate of Harvard in 1722.

COL. THOMAS WILLIAMS,

The eldest son of Dr. Thomas Williams of Deerfield, own brother of the founder of Williams College, was born May 5, 1746. He studied law with Colonel Hopkins of Great Barrington, and commenced practice in Stockbridge with a fair prospect of success. But at the

opening of the Revolutionary War, he marched to Cambridge at the head of a party of minute men, and was one who volunteered to follow Arnold up the Kennebec, being of the division under Colonel Enos. But on reaching the mouth of Dead River, that division was compelled to return because of the absolute impossibility of obtaining provisions. The next year, 1776, being made Lieutenant Colonel, he was ordered to Canada by another route, and died on his way, at Skenesborough, now Whitehall, July 10, at the age of 30.

The residence of Colonel Williams in Stockbridge was the house erected by Colonel Elijah Williams on the Hill, and his law office was a wing of the same building. The building stood a few rods east of the old Fort—the house built by Colonel Ephraim Williams. Very few traces of it now remain. His wife was Miss Thankful Ashley, and his children, Ephraim Williams, now living in Lee, Colonel Thomas Williams, who died at the South, and Esquire William Williams of New Hartford.

The widow of Colonel Williams married Brigadier General Ashley in 1781. He had been here as a delegate from Washington to the County Congress in July, 1774, and had afterwards engaged in the war. At what time he became an inhabitant of Stockbridge is not known; but he was married here, took up his residence, when at home, in the house of his wife, and appears to have remained generally in the army, as an officer, until the close of the war. He was drowned at South Lee.

EPHRAIM WILLIAMS, ESQ.

Esquire Williams would scarcely be recognized by his *real* name in Stockbridge, having taken to himself the more familiar name of "Uncle Bob," by which he is universally called to the present day. He was the oldest son of the second wife of Dr. T. Williams of Deerfield, and in that way grandson of Rev. W. Williams of Weston, pastor of that church at the time Colonel Williams and Mr. Jones removed to Stockbridge, though through his father, he was cousin to him.

Ephraim Williams was born November 19th, 1760, and studied law with Judge Sedgwick, with whom he after-

wards entered into partnership. Having several times represented this town in the State Legislature, and accumulated an independent fortune, he retired from practice about the year 1803, and returned to Deerfield. This course, it is said, was in consequence of a charge of incorrectness from the Presiding Judge, and an order to "sit down." "I will not sit down," was his reply, "but I will leave the bar, and never enter it again." "He was often urged," says Rev. H. Colman, "to return; but he remained inflexible." This act is said by one who knew him well, to have been perfectly characteristic of the man.

"Under the law providing for that office," continues Mr. Colman, "he was the first Reporter of the Decisions of the Supreme Court, and published one volume of the Reports: had a seat in the Senate Board for Franklin County, and was often consulted by the Judges of our Courts."

He married Miss Emily Trowbridge about the year 1815, and died at Deerfield, December 27th, 1835, leaving one son, who is now assistant Bishop of Connecticut.

JOHN BACON, ESQ.

Esquire, or as he is more generally called, Judge Bacon, was born in Canterbury, Ct., and graduated at Princeton in 1765. After supplying two destitute churches in Maryland for a time, he was settled over the Old South Church in Boston, September 25th, 1771. In 1775 he was dismissed, and engaged in civil affairs, occasionally, however, supplying some vacant pulpit. About the same time he came to Stockbridge, built the house which formerly stood on the ground now occupied by Mr. P. Palmer; and, besides being much engaged in town business, was representative to the Legislature, member and President of the State Senate, member of Congress, and associate and Presiding Judge of Common Pleas. He died October 25th, 1820, aged 82. His wives were Gertrude Henry and Elizabeth Goldthwait, and his only son is Judge Ezekiel Bacon of Utica, N. Y.

HON. THEODORE DWIGHT ESQ.

Esquire Dwight was the grand-son of President Edwards, and the brother of President Dwight. He was

born in Northampton in 1762, and after his graduation came to Stockbridge, where he resided a "long time," for some months during the period, teaching the select school on the hill. He was afterwards one of the first lawyers in Haddam, Ct., became active, and distinguished in public affairs, and noted as a writer. During the administration of Jackson, he was engaged with his son in editing and publishing the "New York Daily," and to them were committed the letters of his friend Charles A. Davis, published over the signature of "Jack Downing." From this circumstance, and from the known genius of Esquire Dwight, he was supposed to be the author of the letters; though his son has so promptly and honorably disclaimed it, that no charge of fame-seeking can rest upon his character.

Esquire Dwight married Miss Abby Alsop of Middletown, and died in New York at the house of his son in 1846. An outline of his life and writings was published by the New York Historical Society soon after his death, and a farther notice of him, particularly as a New York editor, has since been prepared by Dr. Francis under the auspices of the same institution.

THEODORE SEDGWICK ESQ.

Was born at Hartford, West District, May, 1746. He graduated at Yale, and commenced the practice of law in Great Barrington in 1776. The same year he went to Canada as aid to General Thomas. He afterwards removed to Sheffield, from which place he was sent as representative to the General Court; and it was perhaps while living there that he so successfully advocated the cause of freedom, though it appears not. In 1785 he came to Stockbridge; in 1787 met the band of insurgents in the Shays Rebellion at West Stockbridge, and instantly defeated them. In 1788 he was a leading advocate for the adoption of the Constitution in the State Convention, and also a member of the Legislature, and Speaker of the House of Representatives; and from that time until his death at Boston, January 24, 1813, at the age of 66, he was, with little interruption, Representative, Senator, or Judge. He has, under the present excitement, been ac-

cused of procuring the old fugitive slave law. Certain it is that he was often said to "govern Congress," and doubtless his influence in that case was very great. But his principles and practice upon the question of slavery are so well known, that such assertions only prove that the perpetuity of the institution was not the design of those who framed our Constitution. In 1810, his opinion was very clearly given on the case of Greenwood and Curtis. He argued that "the law of nature should be the law of the land; that one man could not have a legitimate property in the person of another man; and that therefore a contract made at Rio Pongos, on the coast of Africa, for a cargo of slaves, was *malum in se*, and void as against the law of God. Accordingly no action upon such a contract could be sustained at common law in Massachusetts." If the traffic be illegal, he averred that no rights can be acquired by it, and consequently, none transferred.

The first wife of Judge Sedgwick was Elizabeth Mason; his second, Pamela Dwight, daughter of Brigadier General Dwight, and grand-daughter of Colonel Ephraim Williams, and the third, Penelope Russell of Boston. His children, all children of the second wife, are well known; particularly Theodore as a lawyer and author, Henry and Robert as lawyers, Charles as lawyer and clerk of the Berkshire Court, and Miss C. M. Sedgwick as an author. Among the students of Judge Sedgwick are remembered: Ephraim Williams, of Stockbridge; Henry Hopkins, who died young; Ashbel Strong, of Pittsfield; Judge Howe, of Northampton; George Herbert, of ———; William Hunt, who died young, and Daniel Dewey, of Williams-town.

There were many others who studied with Judge Sedgwick, and among them his own sons, Theodore, Harry, Robert and Charles; but no other names of strangers can now be obtained, all the older members of the family being dead.

Judge Sedgwick was descended from Robert Sedgwick, an early settler, and distinguished military officer of Cambridge. His father was Benjamin Sedgwick, who, on leaving mercantile business, settled in Cornwall, and there left his widow and six children, of whom Theodore was the youngest.

HENRY W. DWIGHT ESQ.

Esquire Dwight was born at Great Barrington, September 15, 1757, very soon after the removal of his father, Brigadier Dwight, to that place. At a very early age he embarked in the Revolutionary struggle, and continued in the service until our independence was achieved. He then received the appointment of County Clerk, which office he held until ill health induced him to abandon it, near the close of his life. He came to Stockbridge soon after the close of the war, and married Miss Abigail Wells, a teacher here. His children were Hon. Henry W. Dwight, Rev. Edwin Dwight, and Rev. Louis Dwight. Esquire Dwight died September 15, 1804, and was buried at the same time with his aunt, the first wife of Dr. West. The funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Hyde of Lee.

REV. SAMUEL KIRKLAND,

For more than forty years Missionary to the Oneida Indians, was the son of Rev. Daniel Kirkland of Norwich, and was born about 1744; educated at the Lebanon school and at Princeton, where he graduated in 1765, and was ordained as a missionary, at Lebanon, June 19, 1766. In school he had learned the Mohawk, and he had spent a year and a half with the Senecas for the purpose of acquiring their tongue. He married Miss Jerusha Bingham, a teacher, and in 1769, took her to Oneida Castle. In the spring of that year, he went to the house of his friend General Herkimer, at German Flats, and there his eldest children, John, (President Kirkland,) and George, mentioned in the story of Shays' Rebellion, were born, Aug. 17, 1770. About 1772 he removed to Connecticut, but soon came to Stockbridge, and took up his residence in the house built by Mr. Sergeant in the village,—now Mr. Carter's.* From there he removed to what is known as the Kirkland Place, west of the village, an Indian house of two rooms, and purchased the Indian meeting house, which he moved, and changed into a barn. On this place Mrs. Kirkland died, together with an infant, January 23,

* Mr. Asa Bement occupied this house after President Edwards, but left it on account of the Fever and Ague.

1788. The children not mentioned, were probably born in the village. Two other children were buried here. From Stockbridge, Mr. Kirkland removed to Paris, or Clinton, N. Y., several years after the death of his wife. His second wife was also a teacher, Miss Mary Donnelly of this town. He died March 28, 1808, aged 66.

Mr Kirkland's practice was to spend six months with the Indians, and then six months with his family. This occasioned many journeys, which in the unbroken state of the country, were very tedious. He had also trials with the Pagan Indians. January 1, 1789, in particular, the Christian Indians having refused to join the revelry, and their dance being thus broken up for want of dancers, a plot was laid to murder Mr. Kirkland. But the design was discovered, and the affair being taken up by the Chief, the conspirators came and asked forgiveness. The Christians, on the other hand, were strongly attached to Mr. Kirkland and his family. Old Scenondou, a Chief who lived to a great age, 106 or 110, came often to Clinton, when indisposed, in the hope of dying there, and being buried beside his pastor that he might rise with him. His wish was gratified in so far that the dust of both sleeps in the missionary's garden. Scenondou was buried with honors. President Backus delivered the sermon, and Judge Dean interpreted,—March 13, 1816. Mr. Kirkland translated the Gospel of Mark, and some Psalms which he had selected. His efforts in the cause of temperance were blessed. At one time no Indian was seen intoxicated in the village for many months. "Good Peter," catechist and teacher, and the most eloquent man among the Six Nations, was his assistant. Under these circumstances, Mr. Kirkland was cheerful, and even joyous. He was often heard singing hymns before he rose in the morning.

One anecdote hitherto preserved of Mr. Kirkland, being an illustration of Revolutionary life, should not be lost.—The action of the County Congress upon the subject of British manufactures and importations, has been mentioned. In Stockbridge, where that Congress met, a dissent was considered peculiarly unpatriotic. No stories are extant of Stockbridge ladies drinking tea in the garrets, an act perpetrated in some places, and a cup of the exhilarating decoction was scarcely allowed to the sick. But Dr.

West received one day an invitation to take tea with Mr. Kirkland. Supposing it to be an invitation to *Sage Tea*, he accepted, and was not undeceived until the genuine perfume, which met him as he took his seat at the table, revealed the truth. The missionary was to commence one of his fatiguing journeys on the morrow, and felt the necessity of a stimulant, which he had generously resolved to share with his clerical friend. But their pleasure was short-lived; for no sooner had grace been said, than a rap was heard at the door! Trembling for their reputation, for the influence of their example, and perhaps for their safety too, Mr. K. sprang to hide the Urn; but the handle of the other urn caught in the loose sleeve of his gown, and the tea was "poured out," not into the cups, but entirely into his lap. His knit "small clothes" and tight stockings were but slight protection, and he danced in quick step for pain. The "knocker" proved to be no adept in the discernment of ethereal bodies, and the ministers were not detected; but the mission to the Indians was delayed for weeks, for the missionary's limbs to heal, and then, it is believed, commenced without even the innocent stimulant of a *cup of tea*.

REV. SAMUEL WHELPLEY.

Mr. Whelpley was born in Stockbridge about 1766, and was the son of Deacon Whelpley, who resided in the east part of the town. The family were Baptists; and Samuel retained his connection with that church for several years after he entered the ministry. His first field of labor was West Stockbridge, from which place he removed to Morristown, N. J., where he became a Presbyterian. From Morristown he went to Newark, and thence to New York, where he died, July 15th, 1817, aged 51. His disposition to employ his pen was early shown, and Mrs. West always preserved a manuscript romance which he gave her while the student of her husband. He never received a public education; but his "Compend of Ancient and Modern History," and his "Triangle," so highly and so justly celebrated, show an original, talented, and cultivated mind. He also published "Letters on Capital Punishment and War."

TIMOTHY EDWARDS, ESQ.

Esquire Edwards was born in Northampton, July 25th, 1738, and graduated at Princeton in 1757, the year previous to his father's death. September 25th, 1760, he married Miss Rhoda Ogden, and settled in Elizabethtown as a merchant. In June, 1771, he came to Stockbridge, and established the first store in the County. The county was very productive in wheat, which he received in payment for goods, and with which he made his purchases in New York. In 1772, he purchased the ground of an Indian woman, hired workmen from Hatfield, and erected the house now owned by Major Owen. It was one and a half stories high, except the wing, which was of one story. All the east part was used as a store. In 1775 Esquire Edwards became a member of the State Council, and continued in that office until 1780,—through the difficulties of our National emancipation. From 1778 to 1787, he was Judge of Probate; in 1779, declined the nomination of member of Congress; for many years sustained the office of church deacon. During the war he was often chosen on committees at home, and was employed by General Washington to supply the soldiers at West Point. He died in the house now occupied by Colonel Goodrich, his residence during the later years of his life, October 27th, 1813, at the age of 75. Mrs. Edwards died in Litchfield, November 22d, 1822, and was brought here for interment. Her age was 80.

MRS. ABIGAIL DWIGHT.

It is often said that the Church has no heart, though it is very common for professors to wait for a revival in the heart of the Church before they wake their own spirits to action. But the church is built up "a holy house," a living temple, and its various altars are composed of individual hearts, in all of which there is the element of heat, but not always flame. It will not answer, however, for the fire to become extinct, lest he who dwelt in the Shekinah break forth and raze it to the ground. So he ever keeps a living, ascending flame in some bosoms; and one of these favored ones, may we not say, was Mrs. Dwight.

She was sometimes thought too charitable, but her's was the charity of a large heart, and not of a loose faith. She never believed that the unsaved in life were saved at death; but she always hoped for the best while life lasted; and where there was no evidence of piety, she yet trusted to electing grace, and overleaping the months or years which might intervene, embraced the wanderer now, in the anticipation of doing so in God's good time. Mrs. Dwight was born in West Hartford, came here to assist Miss Pyncheon in teaching, married H. W. Dwight, Esq., and died May 31, 1840, aged 77.

Rev. Edwin Dwight, her son, for several years pastor of the church in Richmond, died a resident of Stockbridge, Feb. 25, 1841, and his wife October 11, 1838, both much beloved here, and by their former parishioners. Mr. Dwight's age was 51, and that of Mrs. Dwight, 37.

ABEL BUELL

Was born in Killingworth, Ct. He learned the trade of Silver-Smith of Mr. Chittendon of that town, and was married at the age of 19. The next year he was suspected of altering five shilling colony notes to five pounds, though the work was so perfectly executed, that great sagacity was necessary in detecting them. When the counterfeit was fully known, and the suspicion rested upon him, a ladder was placed against his house, and he was detected in the act. The arrest being made, Mathew Griswold acted as King's Attorney. The youth and previous good conduct of Buell, won the compassion of Griswold, and all possible favor was shown him. His sentence was branding; (the brand being held on until he could say "God save the King.")—cropping and imprisonment. But the brand, denoting the nature of his crime, was made as high on his forehead as the hair would permit, and no more than the tips of his ears were taken off. These were kept warm upon his tongue, until they could be replaced, and adhered firmly. At first he was removed for imprisonment; but after a time, at the request of his friends, he was permitted to be confined in Killingworth. About the time of his removal, he constructed the first lapidary machine ever made in the country, and with this

he perfected a beautiful ring, which he presented to Mr. Griswold, the Attorney, afterwards Governor Griswold, and Mr. Griswold procured his pardon.

The next unusual event of his life, was his employment by Bernard Romans, to survey the southern coast of North America, Mr. R. being engaged in the publication of a new map of this part of the continent. While at Pensacola, engaged in this work, an individual came to him, and under pretence of mere curiosity, though it was afterwards believed, employed by the Governor, asked if he could break the King's Seal, and again unite it so as entirely to conceal the fracture. Buell innocently did it, and was in consequence arrested, and detained as prisoner on an island, probably Santa Rosa, though not in close custody.—His genius again saved him. He built a small boat, in which he put to sea, taking with him a little boy who wished to leave the island. After three day's exposure in this frail bark upon the broad ocean, he reached one of our southern ports, and from thence returned to Killingworth. The map was engraved by him, believed to have been the first done in this country.

At the opening of the Revolution, a difficulty arose in procuring types. None but French types could be obtained. Buell constructed a type foundry, and made a large quantity during the war. He lived at that time in New Haven, and worked in the Sandemonian church. When the war was over, he was engaged by the State to coin coppers; and, having made his own implements, he brought the art to such perfection, that he could produce one hundred and twenty coppers a minute. He next went to England, ostensibly to obtain a new supply of metal, but really to obtain information in the manufacture of cloths.—While there, he one day, in travelling, came upon a company of men who were constructing an iron bridge, and who, for want of mechanical skill, had so shaped their materials that they saw no way of bringing them together. Mr. Buell's ingenuity suggested a plan, and the whole was soon fitted, for which he received one hundred guineas.

But here another feature in his character must be exposed, else the grace of God will not be glorified as it should. Mr. Buell was an open infidel; and his evenings in London were spent with Thomas Paine in ridiculing

the Word of God. In this work, it is sad to say, they were joined by a clergyman ; but he was not a minister of the Gospel. He professed to be a Unitarian — probably had no creed at all. His name it is not necessary to publish.

When Mr. Buell returned to America, he established a cotton factory in New Haven, one of the first founded in the country. From New Haven, he removed to Hartford, and thence to Stockbridge, where he established himself as a goldsmith.

Soon after the revival of 1813 commenced, he was taken, apparently, very ill ; but his physician could discover no physical derangement ; and being himself a good humored unbeliever, predicted that Mr. Buell would pass himself off as a convert, and deceive the pastor. Mr. Swift visited him, and found him tossing in agony, as on a bed of embers, yet unwilling to reveal the cause of his distress. Ten or twelve days were spent in this state ; his flesh wasted away, and he seemed about to drop into that scouted eternity, when He who is rich in mercy stretched out the hand for his deliverance. As the pastor entered his room, soon after the change took place, he looked up from the open volume which lay upon his knees, and exclaimed with great animation — “ They have been altering the Bible ! This is not the same book which Tom Paine and I used to ridicule ! they have altered it ; they have *altered* the Bible. *This* is beautiful ! Oh, how beautiful ! All beautiful ! beautiful, beautiful,” — and he turned its leaves back and forth, his countenance beaming with delight. The scales had fallen from his eyes, and he saw things spiritual, spiritually. From that time, the Lord seemed to be his chosen companion. “ I am not alone,” he said, “ I have the best of company.” His Bible was with him, and he realized delightfully the all-pervading presence of Deity.

Mr. Buell united with the church in Stockbridge soon after, being upwards of 70 years of age ; and, though subject in after life to great privations, he ever sustained the character of a christian. He returned to New Haven — it is said, in 1825 — where he soon died in the alms-house.

Besides these, whose characters have been sketched, many others might be added who have adorned the stations allotted them by Providence, and gone down to their graves in peace ; but a notice of all such would swell this volume to an undue size ; and it is better to give too few than too many. “Better far,” says an old writer, “that the question be asked why a monument was *not* raised, than why one *was* erected.” Taking this venerable counsel then, we check feeling, and yield to prudence.

A P P E N D I X .



(A.)

HECKEWELDER says of the Shawanoes, that they were a restless people, delighting in wars, in which they were constantly engaged with the surrounding nations. At last their neighbors, tired of being harassed by them, formed a league for their destruction. The Shawanoes, finding themselves thus dangerously situated asked to be permitted to leave the country, which request was granted ; and they immediately moved to the Ohio, (from the South.) Here their main body settled, and then sent messengers to their elder brother, the Mohicans, (by which name the Stockbridge Indians are frequently called, and even by Dr. Edwards,) requesting them to intercede for them with their grandfather, the Leni, or Lenape, to take them under his protection. This the Mohicans willingly did, and even sent a body of their own people to conduct their younger brother into the country of the Delawares. The Shawanoes, finding themselves safe under the protection of their grandfather, did not choose to proceed to the eastward, but many of them remained on the Ohio, some of whom settled as far up as Pittsburgh. Those who proceeded farther were accompanied by their Chief, Gach-ga-wats-chi-quā, and settled principally at and about the Forks of the Delaware, between that and the confluence of the Delaware and Schuylkill ; and some on the spot where Philadelphia now stands ; others were conducted by the Mohicans into their own country, where they inter-married with them, and became one people. (This, if correct, explains the name "Shawanoë Purchase," in Alford.) When those settled near the Delaware had multiplied, they returned to

Wyoming, on the Susquehannah, where they resided for a great number of years

Chapman, in his History of Wyoming, gives another account of their removal; but Heckewelder's recital accords so well with the hints given by the Stockbridge Historian, that he seems best entitled to credit.

(B.)

"Brothers, you sometimes sorry to see the deplorable situation of your Indian brethren, for which you have given us many good counsels, though we feel ourselves willing to follow your counsel, but it has made no effect as yet. Our situation is still miserable. Our ancestors were conquered immediately after you came over this island by the strong Hero, who does still reign among Indian tribes with tyranny; who has robbed us of every thing that was precious on our eyes. By the power of our enemy, our eyes have been blinded, our young men seems become willing slaves to this despotic hero. In looking back we see nothing but desolation of our mighty men; in looking forward, we foresee the desolation of our tribes. Our Chiefs has used their endeavors to reform their respective people; but having see no success, they seem discouraged, and hang down their heads. Before you cover your council Fire, we unite our cries for your help. Perhaps you are ready to think what man that must be that has abused so much our brethren? never was such hero or tyrant heard that ever meddled with Indians. But in literally, he is your own begotten son, and his name you call Rum. And the names of his officers are Brandy, Wine and Gin, and we know you have power to control him; and as we desire to live in peace, and to become civilized nations, we earnestly entreat you to use your power and wisdom to prevent, &c. Signed by several "Chiefs and Warriors," March, 1796, and addressed to "the ——— Legislature." There is much reason for ascribing this to the New York Indians.

(C.)

Dr. Lykins has recently obtained from Pa-teg-we, a Pottawatomie, residing on the reservation of that Tribe on the Kansas river, a similar curiosity, which has been exhibited in Washington by Colonel Lea, though not with great publicity. It was only lent to Dr. Lykins, the Indians being unwilling to part with it upon any consideration whatever — "It consists of four small rolls or strips of parchment, closely packed in the small compartments of a little box or locket, of about an inch cubical content. On these parchments are written in a style of unsurpassed elegance, and far more

beautiful than print, portions of the Penteteuch, to be worn as frontlets, and intended as stimulants of the memory and moral sense." The Indian from whom it was obtained, had it from his aged grandmother, and it had been in the possession of this particular family about fifty years. Originally, there were two locketts; but one had been lost in crossing a rapid stream at the north. That was supposed by the Indians to contain an account of the creation. Hitherto these curiosities had been kept from the whites, and only the influence of Dr. Lykins with the Chief, has induced Pategwe to expose them to the gaze of a "pale face." He had them many years in his possession before he ventured to cut the stitches of the cover, and look, himself, upon the holy charm; and he was then advised, by one of the Chiefs, to keep the whole a profound secret. A half breed revealed the secret to Dr. Lykins. When asked how long they had possessed this amulet, the Indians reply that they have no knowledge of a time when they did not possess it. It has always been kept from exposure, "for a very long period in the medicine bag," and its age must certainly be reckoned by centuries. To this may be added the testimony of the Delawares, that their ancestors, (divided into ten tribes,) besides the spirit of prophecy, possessed the Scriptures when they lived upon the other side of the water; that then they prospered, but having sold this gift of the Great Spirit, they sorely offended him, and, as a punishment, were subjected to oppression from their neighbors. After a time, however, he compassionated their distress, and led them across a great river to this country, drying up the waters before them. Only nine tribes, they say, consented to emigrate, and from these nine the Delawares separated at a still later period. Traditions were also found among different tribes of Indians in early times, of the murder of Abel by his brother, of the Deluge, the confusion of Babel, and of the practice among their ancestors of the rite of circumcision.

(D.)

In 1749, the Shawanoes sent a messenger to Stockbridge with wampum, to thank the Housatonic Indians for their good advice, and to say that they should never again become intoxicated. They had refused to trade in rum; and when it was brought among them by the whites, they had gone one century ahead of even our noble sister Maine, breaking the casks in pieces, and pouring the liquor upon the ground.—Count Zinzendorf also visited these Indians, and the story of his rejection, the attempt of the Indians to murder him, and the conviction produced upon the minds of the assassins, and

through them upon the minds of the people, by the sight of a large rattlesnake passing harmlessly, and unobserved by him, across his limbs, as he sat reading in his hut at night, has been often told, and is very generally accredited. The Prophet and Tecumseh were of this tribe, but received little honor among their own kindred.

(E)

In this year the Constable's Returns run thus:—"agreeable to the within warrant, I have warned all the English Inhabitants in sd. town as within Described, to meet at Time and place as within mentioned."

This is signed by a white, not long a resident.

"By Virtue of the foregoing order I have warned all the Indian Inhabitants in sd. Town as within described, to Meet at Time and place within mentioned."—Per me—Joseph Quinequaunt, Constable."

Though these can not be considered fair samples of the comparative erudition of the whites and the Indians in Stockbridge, still, as on looking into the Town Record for one year's returns to give as specimens, this was the first upon which the eye fell, it is fairly given.

(F.)

The Stockbridge Indian Bill was advocated in the New York Senate in 1849, by Mr. Johnson, upon the ground that the State was professedly the guardian of the Indians, and yet had made 70 or \$80,000 out of them, contrary to the usual practice of guardians. This is a hint by which some other powers might perhaps profit.

(G.)

In 1822, Mr. Quinney procured the passage of a law in the New York Legislature, giving to the Stockbridge Indians the full value of land *still remaining to them* in the State, by which alone the Tribe were enabled to remove.

In 1828, he was sent from Green Bay, to unite the Indians still in New York, in a petition to Congress for a recognition of their right to the Winnebago and Menomonie purchase, some of the land having been purchased of those Tribes by the U. S Commissioner at the Little Butte des Morts Treaty in 1827,* notwithstanding that the professed object of the Treaty was to fix boundaries between the different Tribes —

*La Petit Butte des Morts, is a Mound of thirty feet in height, on Fox River.

Mr. Quinney was deputed to see the appeal printed, and forwarded by a special agent; and the ratification of the Treaty was permitted to contain a proviso in their behalf. In the spring of 1829, Mr. Quinney collected the poor of the Tribe still in New York, to the number of thirty, and removed them to Green Bay. The Treaty of 1827 still producing evils, he was sent by the Stockbridges and Munseys to Washington, together with delegates from the other Tribes, in 1831; but the Menomonies prevented any settlement, as they had previously done in their own country in 1830, at the Treaty mentioned in Section 25th. A new tract was indeed offered the Stockbridges; but, upon examination, it was found to be unfit for settlement. In this state of things, the Stockbridge and Munsey Tribes united, and sent Mr. Quinney and John Metoxin to Washington, to procure some terms upon which they could live in peace. Other Tribes sent delegates, and a hearing was obtained. But they were positively forbidden to remain where they were, and only permitted to plunge into the woods on the shore of Winnebago. This was in 1831 and 2.

In 1839 the Stockbridges followed the example of the Oneidas, and asked compensation for their losses; Austin E. Quinney and John W. Quinney being deputed for the purpose. This was not granted them, however, until 1848, when they were allowed \$25,000. Mr. Quinney and John Chicks were the delegates in 1841-2 to present this appeal.

In 1844 Mr. Quinney accompanied the Sachem of the Tribe to Washington, to present the above mentioned petition, and also to obtain a repeal, or a modification of the law of March 3, 1843, making the Stockbridges citizens of the United States, contrary to the wishes of a majority of the Tribe.

In 1846 he was again sent, alone, and procured the repeal of the act, and an allowance of \$5,000 on the claim before referred to. This being withheld, however, together with other moneys belonging to the Tribe, he was sent again in 1848, but obtained nothing at all.

In 1850 he was returned to Washington with Austin E. Quinney, then Sachem, for the same purpose; and also to obtain permission for the Tribe to make their own selection of seventy-two sections of land granted them by the amendment of the Treaty of 1848, on the Mississippi river. This mission was successful.

(H.)

The particulars of this affair are these: Daniel Phelps, being an officer, was asked one day by a company of his associates assembled in his room, to give them the manual exercise. Accordingly he took his seat, and, being first

armed with guns which were standing by, they arranged themselves before him. When the order was given to "take aim," one man pointed his piece directly towards Captain Phelps. He was requested to turn it to one side, which he did, though probably no one supposed it to be loaded. Yet, when Captain Phelps pronounced the word "fire," Mr. Y. again pointed the gun directly towards him; and its contents, entering the right breast of the officer, took an oblique direction, boring the lungs, and lodging in the back bone. This was inferred, at least, from his appearance, a numbness in all parts below the ball taking place immediately. As soon as the surgeons had searched the wound, he asked if it was mortal, and was answered "Yes." From that moment to his death, two days afterward, though his sufferings were often great, Mr. Avery, the Chaplain, speaks of him as a "mirror of patience and resignation," such as "is scarcely to be found." In a letter to Dr. West, dated "Camp at Cambridge, May 12, 1775," he says: "Mr. Phelps was wounded on Monday, at 3 P. M. He very quietly fell on sleep at about 6 P. M., Wednesday. Thus expired the flower of our army. Yesterday he was interred in the Cambridge burying-yard in a very decent and respectable manner. I had the greatest satisfaction and comfort in his death, for he appeared to die in the triumphs of faith," &c. He speaks of his brothers, Jacob and Hezekiah, being present; but they are supposed to have gone from Barrington. Deacon Brown and Captain Goodrich were also with him.

Mr. Y. became almost distracted, and, it is believed, continued in a gloomy state of mind until his own death many years afterward. He was not suspected of design, but was probably less cautious than he should have been.

(I.)

The Fair was held in the dining-room of the "Stockbridge House," which was tastefully decorated. Besides ornaments appropriate to the holidays, particular reference was had to the occasion. "There," says one, "was the wreathed portrait of Kossuth at the upper end, surrounded by Hungarian and Turkish Flags, and above it "Eljen Kossuth" in laurel leaves, fit writing for that name which is imperishable. Opposite was the American Flag, draped to conceal the walls, and hung with evergreens. Around the side and across the ceiling, were festoons of evergreen and the Hungarian colors. And there, hung around with wreaths of laurel, were the names of Batthiany, and the thirteen martyrs of Arad, of whom Kossuth so often speaks. Then there were mottoes—"The shadows of our martyrs pass before me." "FORWARD

is the word." "Still they say it was I who inspired them. No! it was they who inspired me." "The heart strings of the women are the purse-strings of the men."

On receiving the money, Kossuth returned the following reply:—

WASHINGTON, January 9th, 1852.

Dear Miss F.:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your much esteemed letter of 3d January, with the inclosed check of \$200, of which \$150 are the proceeds of a Fair held in your village, as an offering from the women of Stockbridge, and the remaining fifty, from a separate contribution from your citizens, as a gift from willing hearts to the cause of freedom in Hungary.

Allow me to express my warmest thanks for this kind gift which the noble and generous ladies and citizens of Stockbridge so generously granted in behalf of my poor down-trodden country, and the common cause of humanity.

The female heart is always susceptible of sympathy, and the remembrance of your kind offering shall be cherished by me, and shall aid me in the effort to accomplish the freedom of Hungary.

I thank you—from my heart I thank you—for your generous sentiments, and I have the honor to remain,

Your obedient servant,

L. KOSSUTH.

The good which will be accomplished by this donation is still a matter of uncertainty. But whatever the event may be, the aim was commendable; and who will ever regret that we did not *prudently* stand aloof until it should be decided that we might have aided a worthier cause? "If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain: if thou sayest, 'Behold, we knew it not;' doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it? and he that keepeth thy soul, doth not he know it?"—Prov. 24: 11, 12.

On the 4th of July, 1852, an entertainment was also given for the benefit of Hungarian exiles.

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